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Constructing Place, Building Community: The Archaeology and Geography of African American Freedmen's Communities in Central Texas

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Constructing Place, Building Community: The Archaeology and Geography of African American Freedmen's Communities in Central Texas

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Dedication

To my grandparents.

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Constructing Place, Building Community: The Archaeology and Geography of African American Freedmen's Communities in Central Texas

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This dissertation focuses on how African Americans residing in freedmen's communities engaged with their institutional spaces, specifically educational and religious centers, between the years of 1870 and 1940. Using Antioch Colony, a freedmen's community established in Hays County, Texas, as a case study I argue that Black Americans constructed their social institutions to enculturate members of the community into ideologies of self-help and reciprocal obligation. These ideologies were collectively believed to provide the best avenue for achieving equal rights, dismantling structural inequality, and combating anti-Black racism. Through an interdisciplinary study integrating methods of archaeological excavation, artifact analysis, archival records, and geographic information systems, I demonstrate how Black Americans used material culture and the built environment, as facilitated through their social institutions, to enact and reproduce such behaviors. In this manner, I engage with geographic theories of place to position social institutions as spaces produced to resist the dehumanization and subjugation of Black citizens in the postemancipation United States.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Texas was home to roughly 250,000 freedmen following emancipation, who were denied the rights of citizenship, and who struggled for social and economic opportunities. Although researchers have studied the challenges that freedmen faced during Reconstruction and Jim Crow (e.g. Crouch 1984; Crouch 1993; Jones 2010; Litwack 1980; Litwack 1998; McMillen 1989; Smallwood 1981), few have considered the roles that landscapes, spatial practices, and movement played in their attempts to form viable communities as a means to, not simply survive, but to ensure that their offspring had improved life chances. In this dissertation I examine the relationships between post-emancipation African American community formation, the cultural environs and institutions they created, and their mobility practices. I attempt to demonstrate the significance of place-making, institutional practices (especially schools), and movement within and beyond settlements for freedmen who were able to constitute unified communities within the context of racism in both rural and urban spaces.

My research examines the places that residents of Antioch Colony, a historically Black community founded in 1870 and located in central Texas, constructed and regularly engaged with as a means to consider how Black Americans created empowering geographies in the post-bellum period. My analysis focuses on members who moved into, within, and out of the Antioch community between the years of 1865 and 1940. I considered artifacts recovered through excavation, census data, aerial photographs, historic maps, and newspapers to explore how Black Texans understood, constructed, and

lived in place, paying close attention to the role of institutions in shaping movements and community formation. Importantly, my analysis of these sources reveals the ways in which mobility and migration contributed to processes of place construction. That is, rather than view movement—which is typically perceived as dynamic—and place—which is usually viewed as static—as separate phenomena, I argue that both were linked and integral to the ways in which African Americans produced geographies of meaning.

My analysis also centers on the role of institutions as important pull factors for mobility across the following scales: within the Antioch community, rural migration into the colony, and out migration to urban areas. This is because educational and religious centers became important sources of cultural fulfillment. Furthermore, such institutions have not been extensively surveyed and excavated archaeologically, leaving a gap in our knowledge about how such spaces functioned within community life (Beisaw 2009:49–50). For example, within the state of Texas only four Black schools and six Black churches have been surveyed or excavated (Scott 2012). Black schools and churches flourished shortly after emancipation, and continue to remain important social institutions within Black communities throughout the United States.

All locales have a material dimension, which may include structures, boundaries, footpaths and roads, activity areas, and landmarks. It is this material dimension that motivates people to move to and within locales, and which shapes behaviors when in a particular place. I use multiple lines of evidence to investigate the importance of place in creating and sustaining African American communities and how place, in turn, informed actions and attitudes, especially those that served to draw families together as

communities. The evidence points to the interplay between the built environment, material culture, and social relations in the construction of places that influenced movement and settlement decisions. As the research progressed, it became clear how residents transformed the natural landscape of Antioch Colony into a meaning-driven homeplace, to borrow a term from bell hooks (1990). For example, soon after the colony's founding, its residents built the first church and school. Using oral histories, archival documents, and archaeological data, I interpret the Antioch church and school as locales for members to engage with one another both politically and socially.

Intentionally constructed as politically- and socially-charged spaces, the church and school influenced decisions regarding movement through the colony and within the walls of both structures, thereby enculturating members into behaviors deemed important for community cohesion. Features on the Antioch Colony landscape—fence boundaries, homesteads, pathways, the local cemetery—further demonstrate how generations of residents continued to alter the natural and cultural landscapes to heighten the sense of cohesiveness shared by community members.

The issues at the center of this dissertation required that I engage in a mixed-methods approach combining archaeological, spatial, and historical data. As a result, my research design was influenced by the scholarship from archaeology and geography, while, more specifically, my research questions overlapped with the concerns of Southern historians.

Clarification of Terms

I use a number of terms and concepts to describe people's actions and behaviors that call for some clarification. "Movement" is emphasized throughout the dissertation to reference how African Americans traveled by foot, horse, and machine to places and through spaces. I distinguish between "mobility" and "migration" in my analysis of these movement practices. The behaviors referred to above which were integral to community formation are those behaviors that idealized self-sufficiency, hard work, cooperation and support between households. These behaviors formed part of a value system that variously encouraged independence and dependence as vehicles for community stability and social and economic advancement. African Americans viewed independence as the ability to take care of one's self and contribute to one's family to ensure financial solvency and well being. It went hand-in-hand with the sense of dependence that family members had for one another (especially children to elders), but also extended to inter-household relationships where reliance on neighbors was essential within historic black communities. I refer to this collective of behaviors and actions as "self help" ideology.

While mobility—the movement of individuals, objects, and ideas from locale to locale and through space at varying scales—has been understood as integral to aspects of place (Cresswell 2006; Cresswell 2010), migration—the "…one-way residential relocation to a different 'environment' by at least one individual" (Cabana and Clark 2011:5)—is a particular kind of mobility that often implies a process of population loss, displacement, and remaking of home in a new area (Blunt 2007). However, analyzing census data reveals how important both movement within place and migration into (and

later out of) the colony were important events that contributed to the continued remaking of the Black community over successive generations. The health of the community relied both on the ability of families to engage in residential mobility and for members to transverse through space in order for institutional places to become and remain significant. Antioch residents attempted to facilitate spatial mobility to the church and school, but as I discuss later, their location proved impractical and both institutions were eventually moved to a more accessible one. Closely related to my use of mobility and migration is the system of values and beliefs – what I refer to as "self help" – surrounding social relationships that were rooted in institutions, and that influenced movement and place-making decisions.

Self help, also referred to herein as self reliance and self sufficiency, was the ethos taken up by Black people as they rebuilt their communities during the eras of Reconstruction and Jim Crow. Self help was a doctrine that argued that the best route to racial equality and economic success was for Black Americans to rely on themselves and their community. This meant that individuals had an obligation to their communities to make education and employment priorities, as well as to share their resources and knowledge to build their homes, churches, and schools (Williams 2006:933–935). Although this ideology shared its roots in the Protestant ethic and classical liberalism (McKeen 2002:411–412), self help was a partial response to what it meant to be a free Black citizen in American society who nonetheless continued to experience racialized inequality (Williams 2006:934). African Americans wanted to prove to their detractors their capacity for knowledge and advancement, and ability to sufficiently support

themselves without White charity. Resisting aid from Whites was especially important given the paternalism that Blacks were forced to live under during slavery, and for many, within the sharecropping and tenant farming arrangements that followed. Embedded in notions of self help was a series of mutual obligations that Blacks recognized were key to moving ahead. Thus, they encouraged the maintenance of mutual support networks that were also of import during slavery.

Self help practices often took the form of reciprocal exchange and obligation, and my use of this concept is informed by Linda D. Molm, Jessica L. Collett, and David R. Schaefer (2007). They outline how and why forms of indirect mutual exchange, which includes reciprocal exchange and obligation, often strengthen group solidarity. According to the authors, indirect forms of reciprocal exchange occur when "…the recipient of benefit does not return benefit directly to the giver, but to another actor in the social circle. The giver eventually receives some benefit in return, *but from a different actor*" (2007:207–208, italics in original). All participants are dependent on another fulfilling their obligation in order to receive benefits, and do not gift rewards directly to one another. Additionally, each giver does not know when and how they will be repaid for their actions (Molm et al. 2007:213). Indirect exchange builds group solidarity because they involve a higher level of risk that a participant will not fulfill their obligation. Because of the risk associated, indirect exchange requires that participants trust that an obligation will be fulfilled and returned (Molm et al. 2007:208, 212). The dependence on others for benefits, and the risk that an obligation would go unfulfilled, cause members to develop strong feelings of group belonging, commitment, and unity (Molm et al.

2007:236–238). In this manner, their study demonstrates the ways mutual obligation strengthen social ties between members of a community.

For these ideals of self help and mutual obligation to uphold over successive generations, community members were continually enculturated in these processes. Therefore I argue that the school and church were such sites that served to instill and promote actions of reciprocal obligation and self help. In their capacities as social centers, Antioch Colony's school and church were places where individuals learned and re-learned these principles. As centers that required members to regularly travel to; whether by foot, wagon, or car; the school and church also required that residents engaged in actions of reciprocal obligation so that all could freely access institutional places. This often meant that landowners had to acquiesce certain control over their property so that parishioners and pupils could freely move about space to access these institutions.

At Antioch Colony, community members were continually enculturated into a collective value system that revolved around the practices of self help and reciprocal, mutual obligation, and these were reproduced over successive generations. My research indicates that the school and church served to instill and promote reciprocal obligation and self help. In their capacities as social and educational centers, these institutions were places where individuals were taught the principles of self help, and where they observed older role models practicing them.

POST-EMANCIPATION MIGRATION HISTORY, LANDSCAPE ARCHAEOLOGY, AND CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY

As stated previously, I drew on the works of scholars from the disciplines of archaeology, history, and geography to variously contextualize, analyze, and interpret Black mobility, the notion of place as culturally constituted, and the relationship between mobility and place all within the historical context of the South. This section is a review of the literature, that cross-cuts multiple fields, that I attempted to build upon.

Black Migration Histories

Early migration into Antioch Colony was central to forming the cornerstone of a solid community, which helped to keep the colony's institutions—the church and school—viable. Community growth and institutional life were mutually influential. More generally, institutions played an important role in motivating people to move through space to, and from, institutions and their related landmarks. They did this along three avenues of travel: rural migration into Antioch Colony, mobility within the colony, and out migration away from Antioch into cities within Texas. Given this research focus, different approaches to the study of black mobility and migration were reviewed to better contextualize my research. Not surprisingly, the First Great Migration dominated the literature, not just on migration, but on Black mobility in general. First, I briefly discuss major works that focus on rural-urban migration to the North and West. These studies represent some of the literature that still defines and shapes our understandings of the Great Migration. I then turn to a discussion of a smaller number of works concerned with

rural-urban migration within the South during the period of the Great Migration. I devote greater attention to these studies because they deal with a topic I also address through an analysis of the demographics of former Antioch Colony residents who relocated to Austin between the years of 1910 and 1940.

Emancipation encouraged many freed African Americans to test the limits of their newfound freedom; compelling many to leave the plantation and explore the greater world around them (Jones 2010:51; Woodson 1918:117–118). Many emancipated Americans felt that in order to achieve full freedom they had to permanently leave the South behind. Perhaps the earliest migration movement, a concerted effort among Black communities throughout the South to relocate elsewhere, during the postbellum years occurred during the early part of 1879, when a number of southern Blacks relocated to Kansas because of believed expansive opportunities available in the state (Painter 1979). This episode was rather short lived, lasting from about the beginning of 1879 to summer of that same year.

Movement and migration in the twentieth century is largely understood within the paradigm of mass movement from the rural countryside to cities and towns in the Northern and Western United States between the years of 1914 and 1940. This migration episode is often referred to as the Great Migration. Many academic treatments on the Great Migration privilege accounts of movement from the South to the North; focusing on residential settlement in northern regions (for example Du Bois 1973; Florette 1975; Harrison 1991; Harris 2012; Lemann 1991; Marks 1989; Trotter Jr. 1991; Wilkerson 2010; Woodson 1918). An even greater focus has been placed on southern Black

migration to Chicago, Illinois (for example Baldwin 2007; Chatelain 2015; Grossman 1989; Reed 2011; Reed 2014; Drake and Cayton 1945). These works focus on events that led to migration, further cultural developments that resulted from migration, and the socio-economic conditions migrants and their families faced in their new hometowns. Historians argue that emigrants saw migration as a pathway for a greater quality of life: better jobs, housing conditions, greater access to education, and an opportunity to escape the racial prejudices experienced in the South (Grossman 1989:17; Harris 2012:26–28).

Researchers Kurt Schlichting, Peter Tuckel, and Richard Maisel employed the use of geographic information systems (GIS) to analyze residential segregation in Hartford, Connecticut during the Great Migration. They compiled a database that included 4,248 African Americans enumerated in the 1920 census, a digitized address listing composed of the residential and demographic information of all 4,248 Black residents, and tax assessment records of each house listed on the census (Schlichting et al.:135–139). Researchers were able to affix household demographics to geographic locations using the address information culled from the census and their digitized address listing. They found that southern born African Americans dominated the Black population of Hartford, composing of 83.3 percent of the population (Schlichting et al.:140). Interestingly, the researchers found a strong correlation between place of birth and neighborhood settlement. Black Americans native to the state tended to cluster in one neighborhood within the city while southern born African Americans often settled in neighborhoods with a low population of Connecticut born Blacks (Schlichting et al.:141). I discuss this specific case study at length because I used the methods outlined in the article to

construct my own historical GIS database involving the residential information of migrants from Antioch Colony who re-settled into Austin. While my database involved a much lower number of African Americans, I was able to track residential settlement and mobility amongst migrants to Austin between the years of 1910 and 1940.

Although the Great Migration to the North and West was no doubt a significant event that impacted the cultural and political environment of these regions, resulting scholarship undermines the patterns of movement among African Americans who chose to remain in the South. In this manner, the focus on the North and West in scholarship on the Great Migration has the unfortunate side effect of representing those who chose to remain in the South as having lived in a state of stasis (Kossie-Chernyshev 2010:56), while minimizing the fact that during the very same time period southerners also engaged with internal migration in significant numbers (Adams 2006:408; Pruitt 2005:437–438). Understandings of Black mobility, therefore, need to expand to consider intra-regional patterns of movement so that there is a greater understanding of the lives of those who remained within the South and how these smaller scale migrations impacted southern cities and rural landscapes.

More recent scholarship push the methodological and topical boundaries of migration to include analysis of rural to urban migration within the south (e.g. Adams 2006; Adams 2010; Cohen 1991; Kyriakoudes 1998; Kyriakoudes 2003a; Kyriakoudes 2003b; Matkin-Rawn 2013; Pruitt 2005; Pruitt 2013). This research demonstrates that Southern cities did not serve as a "rest stop" for the migration North. In contrast, migrants intentionally sought to remain in the South. Scholars indicate that migrants were

attracted to southern urban centers for many of the same reasons as those who fled North and, like their counterparts, often found themselves restricted to unskilled labor positions and relegated to poor housing (Pruitt 2005:438, 452–453). Moreover, this line of scholarship demonstrates that the influx of rural African Americans similarly impacted the economic, social, and cultural landscape of the urban South.

Louis M. Kyriakoudes (2003a) provides a history of rural-to-urban migration in Nashville, Tennessee between the years of 1890 and 1930. His analysis examines the migration patterns of both White and Black southerners as a means to demarcate the similarities and differences in movements through space among these different racial groups. He argues that the "hinterland"—the rural areas surrounding Nashville in the central portion of the state—were important in shaping the economic growth of the city. Overall, the majority of migrants moved just a short distance, coming from the surrounding hinterlands during the early years of the Great Migration (Kyriakoudes 2003a:107–108).

Among African Americans, the author found that men and women were equally likely to migrate between the years of 1910 and 1920; with women outpacing men from 1920 to 1930 (Kyriakoudes 2003a:81). Kyriakoudes argues that the high rate of Black women migrating to the city reflects the wealth of domestic employment available and the quest for economic and social independence from their families (Kyriakoudes 2003a:103, 111–114). The age of African American migrants were fairly diverse, with a significant number of migrants belonging to one of three age groups: under the age of fifteen, between the ages of twenty-five to thirty-four, and between the ages of thirty-five

to forty-four, and that that Black migrants commonly relocated to the city in a nuclear family unit rather than as individuals (Kyriakoudes 2003a:84–85).

For Kyriakoudes, employment opportunities were the most important pull factor for migration into Nashville. He demonstrates that the limited farming opportunities for both Black and White farmers encouraged many to leave. The difficulty in inheriting and purchasing land coupled with the fact that much of the land in Tennessee was marginal land unsuitable for farming drove many men, in particular, to seek urban employment (Kyriakoudes 2003a:48–57). For Black men, the ability to support oneself and one's family was even more difficult to do through farm labor, as they often farmed under the sharecropping system, which offered smaller farming plots and some of the poorest land for agriculture (Kyriakoudes 2003a:47).

While Kyriakoudes focuses on economic reasons that pulled Black and White migrants to the city, Bernadette Pruitt focuses on the social conditions of migrants and the cultural contributions that migrants to Houston, Texas, were involved with. Writing against standard histories of the Great Migration, Pruitt presents an alternative narrative of the migration of rural African Americans from eastern Texas and southern and central Louisiana who relocated between the years of 1900 and 1941 to demonstrate the importance of rural to urban migration in shaping the city's economic and cultural identity (Pruitt 2013:5–7). Between the years of 1900 and 1950, Houston's African American population grew from 15,000 to 125,000, with the migration of rural Southerners no doubt a significant contribution to the population boom (Pruitt 2013:7).

Pruitt found that while most other Southerners left the South for good, when Black Texans migrated they stayed within the state (Pruitt 2013:30–31).

Pruitt's discussion of the residential and mobility practices of African Americans, and how these practices impacted the ability of emigrants to establish homes and integrate into urban Black communities provides a useful context for the aims and goals of this dissertation. In Houston, there were no residential segregation zoning laws, resulting in de facto segregation as a means to maintain separation of the races (Pruitt 2013:84–85). White residents perceived African Americans as a threat to their socio-economic status and racial hierarchy, and therefore, readily worked to implement ordinances designed to restrict Blacks from moving into predominately White neighborhoods (Pruitt 2013:84–85). However, Pruitt demonstrates how African Americans used de facto residential segregation to their benefit by building community solidarity and practicing the principles of self help. In contrast to the difficult housing situation that Northern emigrants often found themselves in due to open hostility and resentment from established residents, those in Houston often relied on established residents in Black neighborhoods for support and aid in transitioning to city life (Pruitt 2013:65). The strict tenants of de facto racial segregation actually aided in fostering long-lasting relationships between people that further led individuals to build coalitions that challenged White supremacy and rebuffed anti-Black racism (Pruitt 2013:66).

Traditional scholarship on the Great Migration demonstrates a need to seriously consider the migration patterns of rural Black Americans from the South and their effects on both the rural and urban landscapes in the early twentieth century. Disillusioned with

their conditions in their rural hometowns, African Americans began to leave their homelands for the city in droves in search of more expansive labor opportunities and a higher quality of life. While this literature focuses on rural-urban migration from the South to the North, more recent literature highlights the fact that many rural African Americans chose to remain in the South, but sought the same opportunities in Southern urban centers. In my dissertation I discuss the migration patterns of a small but significant number of former Antioch Colony residents who left for the city. Like Pruitt and Kyriakoudes, I found that these migrants chose to relocate only a short distance away, choosing to remain within Texas rather than continue the trek northward. The majority chose to move just a short 15 miles away to Austin, requiring a closer examination of why Austin was an attractive place to establish a home. I seek to build on Pruitt's and Kyriakoudes' analyses of the economic and social pull factors that influenced Southern migration by focusing on how education both influenced decisions to migrate to Austin and impacted residential choice for migrants once they made their way into the city. I found that the process of enculturation into the behaviors and practices of self help principles and reciprocal obligation experienced by migrants while living in Antioch Colony were carried with them as they moved through rural to urban spaces.

In addition to mobility, an important aspect of this dissertation is considering how residents of Antioch Colony altered their natural and cultural environments, both physically and conceptually, through their daily actions and movements. In the next section I discuss how archaeologists analyze the material record to interpret how people in the past moved through and modified their landscapes.

Landscape Archaeology

Archaeologists have studied cultural landscapes to examine how social relations were mediated through the environment. While what follows comprises just a small selection of the literature available on the archaeology of landscapes, these studies demonstrate how the notion of place is culturally constituted and how humans often altered their environments to facilitate connections to other people and places within their community.

Cynthia Robin's (2002) study of classical Mayan households in Belize addresses how people constructed and conceptualized their lived space through an analysis of the built environment. Her analysis of the built environment not only considered the locations of homes, but also the placement of agricultural fields, retaining walls, terraced fields, and footpaths. In focusing on pathways connecting work and home spaces, the author found that the spatial arrangement of the community allowed for communication and interaction between people engaged in domestic and agricultural work (Robin 2002:258). Specifically, Robin found that these spaces were located within short distances between each other, allowing people to see and interact with one another while completing their work (Robin 2002:258). In this regard, her analysis of the daily patterns of movement revealed how people connected to other people and places within their community in order to cultivate community solidarity. In considering the relationship between pathways and other features, Robin was able to provide an argument for how members of this classical Mayan village constructed their community in a way that facilitated daily interactions between people and strengthened community unity.

Payson Sheets (2009) employs the use of satellite and aerial imagery to detect ancient footpaths located within a prehistoric Costa Rican Village. Through a combination of aerial and satellite survey, field survey, and excavation, Sheets identified three kinds of pathway construction and use—unintentional creation through regular use, a more ritualized use of pathways to gain access to the community cemetery, and finally, appropriating established pathways as a means of displaying authority and control. Through his analysis, Sheets demonstrates how pathways, not unlike other archaeological features, evolved over time both in construction and meaning to address the needs of community members. Similarly, Erin Gibson (2007) examines road features within Cyprus during the Medeival-Ottomon period as a means to understand social interaction between people residing in different villages within a region. Through her survey of road features within one region of Cyprus, the author determined that there was one main route, with smaller paths branching off, connecting people to area villages and their associated churches (Gibson 2007:66–67). The author considered topography and path morphology to argue that pathway construction was not only a function of having to move from place to place, but was also interwoven with social, cultural, and historical meanings (Gibson 2007:74). These meanings included connections to the wider economic system and participation in church festivities (Gibson 2007:75–76).

Erickson (2009) constructed a GIS database to study earthworks in riverbeds created through everyday movements between households in the Bolivian Amazon. This database made it easier to map pathways and determine the locations of varying canals and causeways used by members of this society. Erickson's analysis provided

information about how households created and maintained social relations with other area households. His analysis revealed information not only about social organization, but how people continued to use and expand these features to maintain communication between households.

While settlement patterns and landscape features can enable social relations and play a role in identity formation, they can also purposely serve to constrain people's movement and heighten social difference. David Byrne's (2003) work on racial segregation in Australia deals directly with themes of restricted access, immobility, and movement through boundaries. His research explores how the Australian government put measures in place to limit the mobility of Aboriginals, demonstrating how archaeological studies of mobility can contribute to research on structural racism. Governmental control of the landscape was intended to indoctrinate Aboriginals to European spatial conventions (Byrne 2003:176). However, Aboriginals were able to subvert attempts at spatial control by occupying a space of "inbetweeness" where they operated within the "gaps" that the Australian spatial system left open. Subverting this system further required the formation of strategic social relationships with somewhat sympathetic White Australian landowners to facilitate a network of movement through otherwise restricted places.

Collectively, these archaeological case studies demonstrate how attending closely to how people moved through their cultural environments demonstrates how archaeologists can analyze social interactions that occurred throughout space. Similarly, I found that within Antioch Colony, footpaths and roads played an important role in

facilitating community formation by providing families and individuals easier access to the social centers of the church and school.

These studies are relevant to my research in that I take the position that landscape features and settlement patterns are culturally constituted and embedded in social relations of power, and are not simply functional in nature. The construction and use of pathways, routes, boundaries, and communal areas can both enable and limit people's interactions, influence their social and political organization, and serve as vehicles for collective identity formation. While this scholarship was important for framing my interpretations of the relationships between Antioch Colony's features and residents' social relationships, I still needed a model to more coherently conceptualize and theorize place, space, and mobility. Here, cultural geography studies were most helpful.

Cultural Geography and Conceptual Notions of Place, Space, and Mobility

Theories of place and space provide the framework for understanding how people interact within discrete natural and cultural environments and the role of movement in framing understandings of place and space. Furthermore, the uses and meanings of places and spaces play important roles in the formation of community identity and social organization. Therefore, theories that illuminate how individuals associated notions of self and community with particular places are central to my study. My understanding of place, space, and mobility as cultural concepts is based largely on the work of geographer Yi-Fu Tuan and other scholars who later expanded on his research.

Tuan (1977:6) presents place and space as opposing concepts that refer to different kinds of actions and engagement with the material world. Tuan (1990:93)

defines place as the product of an emotional attachment with the material environment. This emotional attachment provides a person with a sense of belonging to a particular location and nurtures their fondness for it (Tuan 1990:99). Place is made meaningful through the construction of cultural markers meant to represent, concretize, and instill shared notions of heritage and identity among individuals who have emotional attachments to a place (Tuan 1977:198; for an archaeological example see Whitridge 2004). These markers are conscious efforts to connect a people to a place and to cull feelings of affinity and attachment. As such, place is perhaps best conceived of as a moment of pause, as it is often construed as static, stable, and permanent (Tuan 1977:102, 154–182). Architecture and monuments are material manifestations of these emotions and shared sense of heritage and, as such, often serve as anchors connecting people to place by fostering a sense of attachment to, and stability within, an area (Tuan 1977:159–160). To summarize, place is framed as the material dimension designed to encourage feelings of attachment to and identification with others based on perceived shared heritage and beliefs.

If place elicits pause, then space encourages movement (Tuan 1977:6). Space is connected to notions of freedom and the ability to "transcend" one's present conditions by literally allowing a person to transverse through it to reach new destinations and opportunities (Tuan 1977:52). Therefore, movement is best understood as a process through time that can be captured through the series of pauses, or places, that individuals encounter along the way to a destination (Tuan 1977:198). This implies that space is an

intangible category for the archaeologist, and a challenging one, because it is an immaterial aspect that people "go," or travel, through.

However, what *is* tangible to the archaeologist are the places produced by communities—the resulting landmarks created by residents that signal a communal heritage – that do occur throughout space. Here, Tuan uses the term landmark loosely to refer to buildings, cemeteries, and other similar features as well as monuments. These places are significant because they inspire movement to occur by attracting people to an area—they signal that a place both exists and has the amenities that may be of interest to the traveller. In this manner, place, space, and movement are better understood as relational concepts that encourage and facilitate movement and freedom while also leading to new kinds of emotional attachments to place that cultivate feelings of stability and permanence (Adey 2006:78–79, 83; Mendoza and Morén-Alegret 2013).

While Tuan's use of place, space, and their relationship to movement were integral to shaping my approach to the study of Antioch Colony, his conceptions do not adequately address how power, inequality, and resistance are mediated through geographic practices. For this, I turned first to Katherine McKittrick. It is important to note that Mckittrick uses the term "space" in a manner similar to how I employ the term "place" throughout this dissertation. For the sake of clarity and consistency, I will use the term "place" in this section in lieu of "space" when discussing her theoretical intervention. To start, McKittrick (2006) argues that not only is place a social construct, but as a social construct, place works to naturalize and reproduce multiple intersecting modes of oppression along the lines of race, gender, and class. McKittrick focuses on

how Black women in North America are conceived within this hegemonic geographic framework and how the agency of Black women operates to create alternate ways of living in place. These alternate ways of living demonstrate different geographical understandings informed by the legacy of racialized sexism. As such, these alternative spatial notions are informed by cultural modes of resistance to domination.

McKittrick's important contribution, and one that I attempt to build on, is that she provides a framework for analyzing places produced by Black people. She makes two critical points. First, she argues that Blacks, too, create place. This may seem obvious, especially given the case studies I discussed previously with respect to archaeology, however, we have not reached a point where this is readily recognized because Black people living in diaspora are often represented as "ungeographic." McKittrick dissects this state of "unbelonging" with respect to Blacks in space and place. Unbelonging communicates the lived reality of how we are quite literally erased from the geographic landscape—invisible in our own homeland and believed to be incapable of producing geographies reflecting our socio-cultural standpoint in the world. Therefore, we often find that Black geographies operate within this framework of "unbelonging." To subvert unbelonging, Black communities often produce places that reflect Black invisibility and visibility, anti-Black racism and sexism, and Black humanity.

The second critical point McKittrick introduces is that the places produced by Blacks are directly reflective of their cultural and historical heritage in the "New World." In analyzing places produced by Afro-descendent peoples in the New World, then, the

goal is to understand how these landscapes are produced within the framework of oppression and resistance to power. These spatial products are evidence of agency.

Although she is not a geographer, bell hook's concept of homeplace coincides with McKittrick's work on Black geographies. Thus, it was an important concept for considering the intersections of race, space, and place and their roles in African American community building and their production of institutional spaces. Homeplaces are domestic spheres crafted by Black women, and consciously designed to be sites of nurturance, humanization, and resistance to racism (hooks 1990:42). Within the home, writes hooks (1990:42), Blacks had a safe space to grow and develop, and heal the wounds inflicted by racism. The home, then, becomes a politically-charged space where Black Americans could convene in private to construct and reinforce alternative notions of Blackness, Black culture, and racial solidarity. As a site of resistance, the home operates as a communal space to form ideas that support Black liberation and humanity. In my application of homeplace, I extend the concept to include the community dimension, as individuals and families congregated in places like churches and schools for nurturance and mutual support. I believe that freedmen communities, other kinds of Black neighborhoods, and Black institutions operated as meaningful places that encouraged and supported the further development of Black culture, liberation, and humanization.

Remarks

I used the literature discussed above to frame my analysis of the landscape and mobility practices of African Americans in central Texas. The research on migration

helped to provide a broader historical and social context for the migration events I trace in this dissertation. Studies on rural-urban migration within the South, in particular, highlight a trend that I also found evident in my data: the preference for traveling short distances to urban centers, rather than leaving Texas and moving further away. Further, these studies demonstrate that migrants to Southern cities, like those who left for the North and West, were attracted to these areas because of the potential for greater economic and social opportunity.

The archaeological case studies consider how people created landscapes that facilitated movement between places, and to open up avenues of communication. Landscapes variously served to cement social relations between groups, to buttress or thwart political power, or to signify cultural identity.

Finally, scholarship within cultural geography helped to clarify the terms and concepts used throughout the dissertation to interpret place, spatial practices, and movement histories at various levels of analysis. In the next section I attempt to tie the various threads together into a working framework for how I approached the evidence.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

As stated in the Introduction, my primary questions revolve around the relationships between post-emancipation African American community formation, the cultural environs and institutions they created, and their mobility practices. Yet the concepts of mobility and place seem to be at odds, with one suggesting travel and movement, while the other implies rootedness. Tuan (Tuan 1977; Tuan 1990)

productively bridges the two concepts by suggesting that they operate in tandem with one another, and provides a way forward for my own research.

Place is a fundamental aspect of movement since there is typically a destination in mind when one sets out to travel (Tuan 1977). Therefore, in order to adequately study movement I also have to explore how communities make place. Colony inhabitants made conscientious choices in their individual daily movements, and in their decisions involving residential relocation. Small-scale movements within the community and larger-scale movements that involved migration into new areas involved making pragmatic choices that were believed to be better for achieving household success on the one hand, or solidifying Antioch's community on the other. If mobility practices were shaped by choices meant to improve opportunities and social networks, then landmarks—principally social institutions—were crucial places that served to attract and encourage movement through space. What the literature on African American migration highlights is how many treatments of mobility either deal with the act of migration or the reformation of place once migrants arrive at a locale. Most studies do not address both issues. By initiating a multi-decade study of one community as people moved in and out of the colony and engaged with its institutional centers, I address how movement and place operate in tandem with one another, and played a role in both landscape changes and community formation. I build on the existing literature on migration (e.g. Adams 2006; Adams 2010; Grossman 1989; Kyriakoudes 2003a; Pruitt 2005; Pruitt 2013; Wilkerson 2010) with my focus on the school and church, in particular, as important landmarks that influenced people's decisions to move to the colony.

I attempt to define the meanings associated with both place and movement by the people who inhabited Antioch Colony through my analysis of the archaeological data from the school and church site, census data, death records, and oral histories. As a study of place and community, I situate my research within the scholarship that emphasizes the connections between places (landscapes and the built environment), mobility, and community (Byrne 2003; Erickson 2009; Gibson 2007; Robin 2002; Sheets 2009). Both rural and urban Black geographies are always racialized and can be understood through the lens of how both African Americans imbued their places with a shared sense of cultural heritage and racial identity (hooks 1990; McKittrick 2006).

One of my primary examples of the relationship between place and mobility involves the church and school. Parishioners and students, who may be one in the same, traveled to the site of the school and church on a regular basis, drawn by the opportunities for social engagements, education, and religious practice. Rather than study these places in isolation, I also consider the spaces that enabled access and movement to them since they were also, like the institutions, integral to solidifying the social relations of colony residents. An analysis of freedmen's communities, what made them meaningful and whole, would be incomplete without consideration of how the environment was continuously molded to allow for the flow of movements across their landscapes (Erickson 2009; Sheets 2009).

CHAPTER SYNOPSIS

The dissertation unfolds as follows. Chapter Two provides a historical background on the community. I discuss the events that lead to the community's

founding and the establishment of the first school and church. I also provide historical context for how self help and reciprocal obligation were conceived and employed within Black communities following emancipation. Chapter Three outlines the methodologies used during data collection an analysis. I employed a mixed-methods approach, taking advantage of archaeological excavation, remote sensing, geographic information systems (GIS, and archival research to analyze lived, constructed, and conceptualized places. Data analysis begins in Chapter Four where I discuss the demographics of the Antioch community between the years of 1870 and 1920. Using this demographic data, I demonstrate how the school and church served as landmarks attracting nearby residents into the community by advertising the ability to maintain a school and their existence as a Christian community. This data serves as context for Chapter Five, where I describe the archaeological record at Antioch Colony. I discuss the processes residents undertook to transform the landscape into a livable place. From there I analyze how residents adapted the natural and cultural environment to allow free flowing movement within and out of the colony. This required an extension of neighborly goodwill; as moving across space required ignoring property boundaries. Archaeological data from the church and school site are also discussed in Chapter Five. I interpret the material record as evidence for directed action occurring across space. The material assemblage demonstrates community self help approaches to education. The chapter ends with a comparison of rural African American schools in the South. In Chapter Six the analysis shifts to those residents who migrated to cities between the years of 1910 and 1940. I use demographic data to demonstrate two points: 1) migrants preferred to remain in Texas and 2) the majority of

people elected to relocate to Austin. This data serves as background to Chapter Seven. Here I explore the racialization of place by demonstrating how, despite promotion of the school as a venue to instill values and life skills, White residents consistently stereotyped these places as a public nuisance. In White imaginations Black schools were linked to stereotypes of Black people, which were linked to notions of deviance and deplorableness. These notions had tremendous consequences. Black migrants of Austin saw their residential freedom limited to areas surrounding Black schools due to racist notions of Black place. The dissertation concludes with Chapter Eight.

Chapter 2: Historical Background

Reconstruction brought on a new social and political landscape for emancipated African Americans. No longer legal chattle, this period was marked by hope that they could seize all the privileges that U.S. citizenship afforded while maintaining the Black communities developed during slavery. Thus, schools and churches were established as social, cultural, and political centers that held communities together as they tried to exercise their rights as American citizens. During this period, communities adopted the principles of self help (see Chapter 1) to re-connect with families lost to the slave market, establish separate churches and schools, fraternal organizations, create Black-owned newspapers, obtain land ownership, and to obtain fair labor contracts (Du Bois 1998; Litwack 1980). When Reconstruction ended in 1876, Black Texans had to navigate a new terrain where their civil and social rights continued to be denied (Rice 1971:143–145). The purpose of this chapter is to historically contextualize religion and education among African American Southerners, with special attention to how self help ideology intersected with education in the 1900s. In the second half of the chapter I present a history of the Antioch Colony.

BLACK INSTITUTIONS IN SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT

Black Education and Self Help Ideology

African Americans saw it as their responsibility to ensure that schooling would be available to those within the community, often relying on their own resources to construct and supply schoolhouses (Anderson 1988:15). Because literacy was forbidden during slavery, many Black Americans saw it as a fundamental aspect of freedom. Being literate

meant being self-reliant, and African Americans hoped that it would help them to realize the fullest extents of their newly-granted citizenship (Anderson 1988:16–18; Du Bois 2007:523–525; Span 2009:43). The ability to read labor contracts and voter's ballots were powerful incentives for education, lessening their reliance on Whites and minimizing their exploitation (Anderson 1988:18; Hahn 2003:277–278). Black education became key to achieving economic independence and a useful tool for dismantling racism.

This belief in self help led African Americans to build and maintain schools throughout the South. For many, especially those in rural areas, freed people had to come up with the money and resources to purchase land, to build the school, and then staff it and supply it (Hahn 2003:277; Walker 2003:101). Historian James M. Smallwood notes that freed Texans adhered closely to the doctrine of self help when organizing their schools following emancipation:

They collected funds, bought land, built either a church or school or both, and tried to find teachers, whom they supported with moderate tuition and with gifts of food when gathered at harvest. In sum, freedmen followed bureau advice, did everything their resources allowed, and only then appealed to the bureau for help (1978:790).

Self help, as employed by African Americans, is perhaps a bit of a misnomer, since it was viewed as a responsibility not simply to be independent and help one's self, but as an obligation between individuals within the Black community. Emancipated Black Americans relied on members of their race for support in achieving financial stability, education, and services; betterment of yourself would lead to the overall betterment of the Black race in America. In this manner, self help was a form of

reciprocal obligation. Moreover, local and national leaders believed that self help offered the best chance for racial uplift and the permanent divorce from servitude.

Ninety-five percent of Black Texans could not read or write in June of 1865 (Smallwood 1981:68). This statistic is unsurprising given that there was a de facto ban on literacy education for enslaved African Americans and few free African Americans were able to receive an education during the antebellum period (Wilson 2010). The denial of literacy during slavery was a powerful motivator for establishing schools for African Americans throughout the state during Reconstruction. However, the groundwork for public education was established in 1854, in a constitution that provided for a common school system and a school fund (Berger and Wilborn 2010). The year of 1871 marked the creation of an organized public school system, which was later replaced with a school system empowered by local authorities in 1876 (Moneyhon 1989:383; Sitton and Conrad 2005:109).

The establishment of schools for Black communities during the Reconstruction era was largely due to efforts of freed men and women, with the Freedmen's Bureau providing administrative and financial aid when requested. Bureau schools consistently operated under a shortage of teachers and supplies, and could not provide funds for building construction, but could provide money towards renting a building (Smallwood 1981:73). Additional help was provided by the American Missionary Association (AMA), which provided teachers from Northern states to initially staff Texas schools (Wilson 2010). Oftentimes, rather than waiting for the Bureau to extend their reach into a community, many African Americans took it upon themselves to fund, staff, and supply

their schools, turning to the Bureau only when they needed additional funds to adequately run a school in the current school year (Smallwood 1981:86–87). The efforts of freed people, with aid from the Bureau and the AMA, led to the establishment of 88 schools serving a population of 4,478 pupils in Texas by 1870 (Wilson 2010). In 1884, the state-wide public school system was revived, leading to the creation of common school districts and county administrators charged with regulating both Black and White schools (Sitton and Conrad 2005:110–111).

African American education during the early 1900s was somber. Educators and parents faced chronic underfunding of Black schools throughout the South. Often, although Black citizens were being taxed for education, much of their money went toward schools for Whites. This created a situation where Black Southerners were "double taxed" because they often had to provide funds for land, building construction, furniture, and supplies for their schools in addition to being taxed by the state (Du Bois and Dill 1911:7). One early study noted that:

In many parts of the South Negroes are paying into the school fund in the way of taxes much more than they are receiving in actual appropriations for their school facilities. Wherever this is true it may be said that the Negroes are helping to pay for the education of the white children while the states are depriving the Negro children of their just share of school facilities (Du Bois and Dill 1911:8).

Underfunding often meant that Black schools operated at a fraction of the budget awarded to White schools and the amount of money paid to a school for each Black child was significantly less than that of a White child (Du Bois and Dill 1911:28–30). Additionally, Black teachers were paid less than their White peers, Black school properties were less valued, and many Black schools were ungraded (Du Bois and Dill

1911:31–32). Educational disparities even spilled over to the length of an academic term, where the number of days in school was less for Black schoolchildren (Anderson 1988:154).

Texas diverged slightly from the general trends outlined above. Town and county schools in Texas were considered to be better off than their counterparts in the Deep South (Du Bois and Dill 1911:7). W.E.B. Dubois' team of researchers at Atlanta University found that the Texas government treated Black schools relatively fairly. They remarked, "There is no discrimination in the per capita amount of money appropriated to the white and colored children *but there is considerable discrimination in the amount paid the teachers and in matter of school houses and supplies*" (Du Bois and Dill 1911:33; emphasis mine).

During the Jim Crow period, the notion of self help expanded to include technical and industrial education for schoolchildren. Perhaps the most famous proponent of technical training as a model of self help was that of Booker T. Washington, founder of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. He argued that the best approach for the uplift of the Black race was to construct a curriculum well balanced in the liberal arts, sciences, and humanities, with an emphasis on industrial arts to prepare African Americans for manual labor:

Industrial education, however, soon recommended itself to the white South, when they saw the Negro not only studying chemistry, but its application to agriculture, cooking, and dairying…A class of people in the South also favoured industrial education because they saw that as long as the Negro kept abreast in intelligence and skill with the same class of workmen elsewhere, the South, at present free from the grip of the trade union would continue free from its restrictive influences…It must be frankly reconised by the people of that section that for a long period they must depend upon the black man to do

for it what the foreigner is doing for the Great West, and that they cannot hope to keep pace with the progress of people in other sections if one-third of the population is ignorant and without skill (Washington 1969:26–27).

Washington did not envision for Black Americans to work for White people in subservient roles. In contrast, Washington envisioned a population who could produce all of their own goods and services, achieve financial security, and lead the industrial revitalization in the South.

Hightower T. Kealing (Figure 2.1), teacher and principal of Robertson Hill School in Austin from 1883 to 1888, shared Booker T. Washington's sentiments. According to Kealing, alongside a number of desirable traits, African Americans had certain behavioral flaws. He believed that these flaws, which included traits like ignorance, suspicion of members of their own race, extravagance, and dishonesty, prevented many from becoming competent citizens (Kealing 1903:174–181). Industrial education would be the solution to overcome these negative characteristics:

Evidently he is to be "solved" by educational process. Everyone of his inborn traits must be respected and developed to proper proportion…Industrial education with constant application, is the slogan of his rise from racial pauperism to productive manliness (Kealing 1903:182–183).

His contributions to Black education in Austin were later memorialized in the naming of Kealing Junior High School in his honor when it opened in 1930.

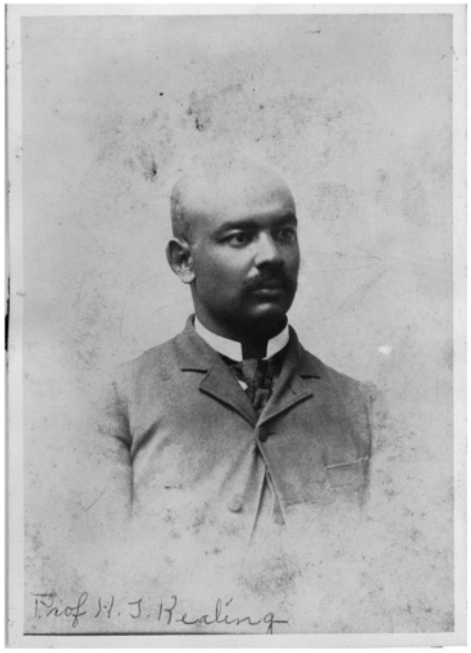


Figure 2.1: H.T. Kealing, n.d. University of North Texas Libraries, Portal to Texas History, http://texashistory.unt.edu; crediting Jacob Fontaine Religious Museum, Austin, Texas.

The ideals promoted by Washington, Kealing, and others influenced the approach to primary and secondary education for Black Americans and the training of teachers who would ultimately serve these institutions (Anderson 1988:33–34, 47–58, 104–105; Sitton and Conrad 2005:131–135; See Figure 2.2). The perspectives of Washington and Kealing carried weight because, as leading educators, they had the power to affect educational policies. Moreover, they supported an ethic that was familiar to African Americans. Notions of self help by way of education led to the building of schoolhouses. As mentioned earlier, it was Black men and women who erected their educational facilities by hand and collected the resources needed to supply their schools.

Figure 2.2: Booker T. Washington's belief that education should focus on self help by way of manual labor was influenced by the Hampton Normal School and their approach to educating African American teachers, as seen in this classroom of Hampton's practice school. Pictured here are Eight African American children, in kindergarten, learning washing and ironing at Whittier Primary School, Hampton, Virginia, in 1899. Photographed by Frances Benjamin Johston. Photo courtesy of the Collections of the Library of Congress.

The Black Church

As education was intertwined with notions of self help, so, too, was the Black church. Through religious instruction and social interaction, the church engendered a sense of responsibility among its members, where part of being a good Christian was to take care of one another. In what follows, I consider the multiple roles that the Black church fulfilled. As both the scholarship and oral histories suggest, this institution was just as central to Black life as the school.

To start, the church was entangled with notions of freedom of expression. Recently freed African Americans closely linked the establishment of separate places of worship to the realization of full autonomy from their former masters—hence the establishment of a separate church was a necessary part of "practicing" freedom (Bethel 1981:37; Litwack 2000:114; Myers and Sharpless 2003:21; Sitton and Conrad 2005:82). Black Americans felt it necessary to establish their own churches so that they could retain complete control over religious worship (Smallwood 1981:96–97). The freedom that a separate church provided included being able to employ their own Black preacher, orchestrating service according to Christian religious practices informed by their African heritage (e.g., spirit possession, shouting), and not being forced to listen to condescending messages to accept their subservient status and obey White people (Montgomery 1993:53). As one of the first institutions to develop within many Black communities, churches had multiple functions. Not only were they religious centers, but in many cases they served as the earliest schoolhouses, locales of intense political activity, and even served as healthcare centers (Cabak et al. 1995; Sitton and Conrad 2005:80–96).

The Black church was also important in providing its members with a social outlet. Church worship service at Antioch Colony was the main social event of the week, oftentimes providing the sole entertainment for Black people residing in the countryside. Although many colony residents recognized that not everyone within the community was particularly religious, they were adamant that everyone looked forward to attending either

church service or the after-church events. This recognition is best reflected by the series of comments made by Antioch descendant LeeDell Bunton:

See back then, church, that was the social gathering place for most of us…everybody looked forward to going to church on Sundays, and I mean everybody, even if they were out drinking the night before, they went to church on Sunday. That's just the way it was, because that was the social event of the week. You was going to see everybody there, you know. And some of the people who came didn't always come into the service, but they were there for the after service, you know what I mean, and they were (Franklin 2012:85).

"…I don't believe that they were just really Godly people. I mean, you know, just because a lot of those people drinked and they might have been out almost all night, but they came to church to be a part of that social event. But they showed the respect that you would expect church people to have" (Franklin 2012:96).

Joan Nell Limuel similarly remembered church providing her with one of the few joys of growing up within the community:

"I enjoyed church. You know, we used to go to Sunday school every Sunday. But it was hard here, you know? We had no electricity, no water, no running water, no lights…it was a hard life, and the good ole days, those weren't no good ole days, not to me" (Franklin 2012:443).

The church was a space for both the devout and the not-so-devout to congregate, but the ungodly were expected to come with the manners associated with God-fearing people. The church provided an escape from the day-to-day rigor that came with country living and this retreat was available to all.

The church was also integral to self help practices among African Americans. Racist notions of Blacks' inherent inferiority and their inability to be reformed as productive, responsible citizens blocked any attempts at achieving full citizenship rights and equality. Black churches responded to the racial climate of the time, which greatly circumscribed the economic opportunities of Blacks, by providing resources to those in

need (Mitchell 2004:167). Widespread poverty, the strenuous demands of agricultural labor, and the lack of property ownership were the most pressing issues for rural church members. Sensitive to the needs of its members, any given rural church engaged with at least one of three church traditions, if not all of them: the "survivalist" tradition, racial uplift, and liberation (Myers and Sharpless 2003b:59). The survivalist tradition was the belief that God controlled one's destiny. If you kept faith in Him, He will reward you in this lifetime (Myers and Sharpless 2003b:59). The second tradition, racial uplift, was the expectation that members would act with good moral virtue. Immoral behaviors included gossiping, not paying appropriate tithes to the church, idleness, socializing with amoral characters, and attending saloons (Myers and Sharpless 2003b:69). To ensure that members maintained their virtue in the face of temptation, religious revivals were crucial to ensuring members' commitment to Christian values (Myers and Sharpless 2003b:70). The last tradition sought to provide economic support to members, typically in the form of promising land grants (Myers and Sharpless 2003b:76–77). It is likely that the Antioch Church congregation practiced one or more of these traditions, as interviewees recalled that their parents read from the Bible regularly and had high expectations with regard to their religious devotion and moral behavior. Hard work and independence, both forms of self help, were also emphasized, and may have been encouraged by the church as one study suggests.

In *Spirit of Rebellion: Labor and Religion in the New Cotton South,* Jarod Roll maps the rise of Pentecostalism among rural Black farmers residing in the Missouri "Bootheel" region. According to Roll, agricultural labor provided workers with spiritual

fulfillment—farm work was viewed as one's commitment to God (Roll 2010:5–6): "…personal righteousness and strenuous labor was in part a contribution to the fellowship of the church body" (Roll 2010:6). Community members' demonstrated religious commitment gave them access to resources and networks. As Roll states, "Churches, which often were the only meeting places available to rural people, became important civic spaces where a shared moral system that ordered ideas about families, labor, leadership, and belonging could be enunciated and enforced" (Roll 2010:6). Roll further demonstrates that rural farmers were involved in political activism that addressed agrarian concerns. Garveyism, in particular, resonated with farmers because of the importance it placed on self-sufficiency and independence and its adoption of religious symbolism and language (Roll 2010:63,67). Although *Spirit of Rebellion* is a history of Pentecostalism among Black rural farmers, Roll's work reveals how Christianity complemented agricultural labor and how and why they were involved in political activism that addressed their specific concerns.

Like with the school, the church represented geographic freedom. At the end of slavery, Black Texans divorced themselves from White churches in order to establish religious institutions of their own, a trend examined throughout the South (Montgomery 1993:53–57). As an important social center and landmark that served to solidify the community and indoctrinate its members into the tenets of self help and moral behavior, it played a central role in Black community formation.

HISTORY OF ANTIOCH COLONY

The presence of Antioch Colony as a freedmen's community comprised of landowners is perhaps uniquely Texan. Broadly, African American landowners throughout the South only accounted for ¼ of the population between the years of 1870 and 1890 (Sitton and Conrad 2005:2). However, by 1890 26% of the Black population in Texas owned land, rising to 31% by the early 1900s (Sitton and Conrad 2005:2). These Southern landowners obtained their parcels through a variety of means that included through the benevolence of a former slaveholder, squatting on unincorporated and otherwise unclaimed land, or through saving money to buy land outright (Sitton and Conrad 2005:3–4). For landowners in Antioch Colony the latter was true. In 1870 and 1871 Joseph Rowley, a white man residing in Central Texas, sold adjacent land parcels to Black men seeking to establish farms in Hays County (Stovall and McCoy 1986:351). Therefore, Antioch Colony's location was dictated by the availability of land in the area, a person who was willing to sell land at a reasonable price to African Americans, and the economic ability to purchase the available property. These landowners mainly made their living as farmers, but also established various trades that included stonemasonry, selling water, butter, timber, and produce to others in the area, and processing molasses, (Stovall and McCoy 1986:352).

Eight landowning families created the core of what would become Antioch Colony in 1870, and the community quickly grew to include renters by 1880 (Boyd et al. 2015:100–103). Communities like Antioch Colony—often referred to as freedmen's communities, colonies, or towns—were established by Black Americans throughout the South in the decades following emancipation. Generally, proper freedmen's communities had three defining characteristics: 1) they were initially established by emancipated men,

women, and children, 2) they typically had at least a church or school, and 3) they were established before 1900 (Mears 2009:25).

After constructing their houses and clearing fields, residents established three communal spaces in rapid succession. Property ownership seemed to play a major role in the development of a school and/or church, and dictated their initial location. Such was the case at Antioch. In 1874, Elias and Clarissa Bunton, a founding landowning family of Antioch, donated property that would serve as the location for the first school and church (Figure 2.3). Because the Buntons donated the land, these institutions were established on property adjacent to their household. The deed for the school reads in part:

Know all men by these presents _____ _____ Lias [Elias] Bunton & Claracy [Clarissa] his wife of the county of Hays state of Texas for & in consideration of the many advantages privileges & blessings to ourselves & the other portion of the colored population of Precinct no (5) in said county by the establishment of a Public School House for the colored people in said precinct: we give, grant, bargain, sell & convey by these presents do give, grant, bargain, sell & convey unto George Kavanaugh, Elias Bunton & Cyrus M Carpenter & their successors in office one square acre of land, taken out of the S.E. corner of a twelve acre lot of land purchased by me of J F Rowley on the 20th day of May 1871 & recorded in Book G pages 620 & 621. March 25 1872 in said county, it being a part of the P J Allen League no __ on Onion Creek in said County of Hays in trust that on it may be erected a good substantial school house for the sole use & benefit of the colored population of said precinct no 5 for free public schools and when not so used for private schools provided it may at all times on Saturday & Sundays & also when not used as a school house be used as a house of public worship by the colored people of said precinct no 5…(Hays County Deed Records).

Figure 2.3: Undated photo of the first Antioch Colony school building. Photo courtesy of LeeDell Bunton.

The two-story wooden schoolhouse sat on top of wood piers, complete with a limestone walkway leading to the front entrance. For a time, this schoolhouse also served as the community church until 1881 when a separate building for the church was constructed. It also served as a space for the Prince Hall Freemasonry and Woodmens Fraternal Organization lodge meetings (Franklin 2012:300; 437; 472). The Woodmens Fraternal Organization, referred to by interviewee Anthy Lee Walker, was perhaps the Supreme Camp of the American Woodmen, an organization headquartered in Austin, which by 1910 was headed by Black men (Schmidt 1980:39).

Antioch Colony's school was one of the first free public schools in Hays County. It formally opened on November 20, 1876, with a total of 57 students (Willis 1937:95).

The colony's school was one of three available to African American children within the county during the late 1870s. The second school, Pleasant Hill, was located southeast of nearby Kyle, and likely was under control of the White school board, while the third, Berry Durnham School, was 2 ½ miles south of Stringtown (Willis 1937:96; Figure 2.4). Shortly after the inaugural year at the Antioch Colony School, Berry Durnham School opened on March 24, 1877, with 22 students enrolled. By the late 1890s, the Antioch Colony, Pleasant Hill, and Berry Durnham Schools were joined by five other public schools for Black children in Hays County.

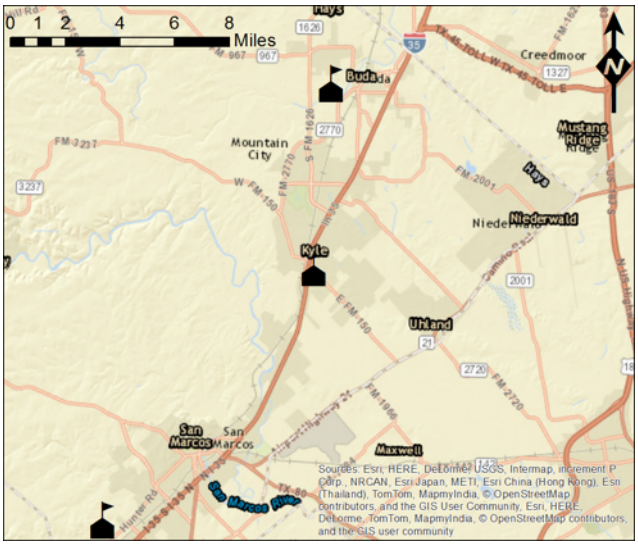


Figure 2.4: Map showing the locations of the first three Black schools established in Hays County in the 1870s. Locations of Pleasant Hill and Berry Durnham schools are estimated.

The community's first church building was located 33 meters north of the school (Figure 2.5), and was an African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) church. Like with the school, the church sat atop wood piers. Besides a steeple, an architectural feature most often associated with churches, nothing else distinguished the church as such. The

exterior was rather plain, and it appears that the interior was no more ornate. Former resident Joan Nell Limuel provides particular insight into the interior appearance: “It had wooden floors and—yeah I remember. The pews. The wooden benches. They were hard. No cushions on them. Just wooden benches” (Franklin 2012:413).

Figure 2.5: Undated photo of the first Antioch Colony church. Photo courtesy of LeeDell Bunton.

By at least the early 1900s, members of Antioch Colony’s A.M.E. Church had joint church services with Center Union Baptist Church, located in the nearby Prairie community, on a rotating schedule. Like many other small, rural churches, both Black and White, the Antioch and Prairie communities could not afford to hire a full-time pastor (Myers and Sharpless 2003a:56). Their shared pastor had a second job at a bakery in Manchaca, indicating that even together, the communities could not pay him a living wage (Franklin 2012:374). The rotating schedule served to create and strengthen inter-community ties, and interviewees recalled that they recognized little difference between

the community boundaries; everyone knew everyone else, and there were kin ties between both communities. On the first and third Sundays, the pastor would preach at Center Union, and on the second and fourth Sundays, he would serve the A.M.E. Church (Franklin 2012:129, 285, 356). LeeDell Bunton remembered a more expansive church network connecting communities as far as Kyle and Manchaca:

> *And I remember as a kid, when we were there, they would have service every other week, I believe it was, in the church. And then, sometimes if we weren't having service in that church, then we would go out to where we call the Prairie at the Center Union and have church, or we would go down to Kyle and have church, and some Sundays we would go to Manchaca and have church* (Franklin 2012:77).

Although the pastor's denomination remains uncertain, denominational affiliation held little importance to both congregations. As LeeDell Bunton states: "the churches all rotated because no church had a full-time pastor. It didn't matter what denomination the church was, we would all gather at the church where the minister would be on Sunday Morning" (Franklin 2012:77). Furthermore, religious scholars and historians note that this disregard for denomination is a unique feature of African American Christianity, and may reflect, at least partially, the practice of having to make do without a full-time pastor that dates back to slavery (Lincoln and Mamiya 1990:2–7; Myers and Sharpless 2003a:56; Myers and Sharpless 2003b:58).

Both the school and the church buildings were rather unremarkable structures. Because of their location, sometime in the 1940s the school and church were relocated to property right off of the main road, Old Black Colony Road, to the colony. According to former resident Minnie Nelson, this was because, "being that it was so rugged to get to

the church, they had it moved up..." (Franklin 2012:300). It became difficult for many inhabitants to transverse the landscape to reach these institutions, requiring permanent relocation.

In addition to the church and school, the community established a cemetery which also served as an important community landmark, and provided further evidence of its members modifying the landscape. As indicated by the earliest marked burial, the Antioch Colony Cemetery was established by December of 1870. Unlike the first school and church, the cemetery is located off of Old Black Colony Road. This cemetery remains active. The school, church, and cemetery aided in visibly imprinting the landscape with the presence of a Black community. More importantly, these features served to solidify a sense of collective identity as colony residents, and to foster group belonging through shared educational and spiritual practices.

Following emancipation, Black people across the South continued to practice the principle of self help that they exercised during slavery as they built new communities within the context of freedom. In the 1900s, African Americans began to promote education as a potential vehicle for dismantling anti-Black racism. Education was believed to be the key to transform members of the Black race into upwardly mobile citizens. Booker T. Washington, in particular, became the face of a brand of racial uplift predicated on the notion that Black children and young adults should be taught practical skills that would allow them to be competitive laborers, who would lead an industrial revitalization in the South. In this sense, Washington believed that racial uplift would be achieved principally through education followed by economic independence. Moreover, a self-sufficient adult was someone who could complete domestic chores in a satisfactory

manner. For Black women, this meant someone who was a skilled domestic. Hightower T. Kealing's writings on the matter demonstrated how educators in the region close to Antioch Colony shared ideals put forth by Washington and attempted to implement them in Black schools. These ideals included the belief that education would be the pathway to civilizing the race.

The history of Antioch Colony demonstrates the success Black Americans achieved shortly after emancipation as they formed new communities. These successes highlight the opportunities Texans had, particularly in the form of land acquisition, which was unparalleled in other Southern states. Antioch Colony not only offers the opportunity to examine African American lifeways in the post-emancipation period, but also how freed people shaped institutional spaces and created a form of Black politics that directly addressed their daily struggles and predicaments.

Chapter 3: Methodology

In this chapter I summarize the previous research at Antioch Colony, and outline the multiple methods used to analyze the geographic practices of African Americans as they moved through space at multiple scales. Although I conducted archaeological survey and excavation at the church and school site within the colony, a low artifact recovery necessitated the need for additional data sources to sufficiently analyze the role of education and religion in shaping spatial practices. These included archival and spatial data, and both were analyzed using geographic information systems (GIS). A benefit of using a multidisciplinary approach integrating historical, geographic, and archaeological methods is that I was able to examine how residents of Antioch Colony constructed and engaged with place at multiple scales of analysis from the local to the regional. Additionally, primary sources in the form of writings of Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, H.T. Kealing, and others provided much needed historical context for the role of education, in particular, within southern Black communities (see Appendix A for a detailed overview of all historical sources used).

The Antioch Colony research project is comprised of five separate sites: the Antioch Cemetery, Kate (Friend) Bunton site and its associated midden, the Pete and Mary Bunton Site, the School and Church site, and the Anderson site (Figure 3.1).

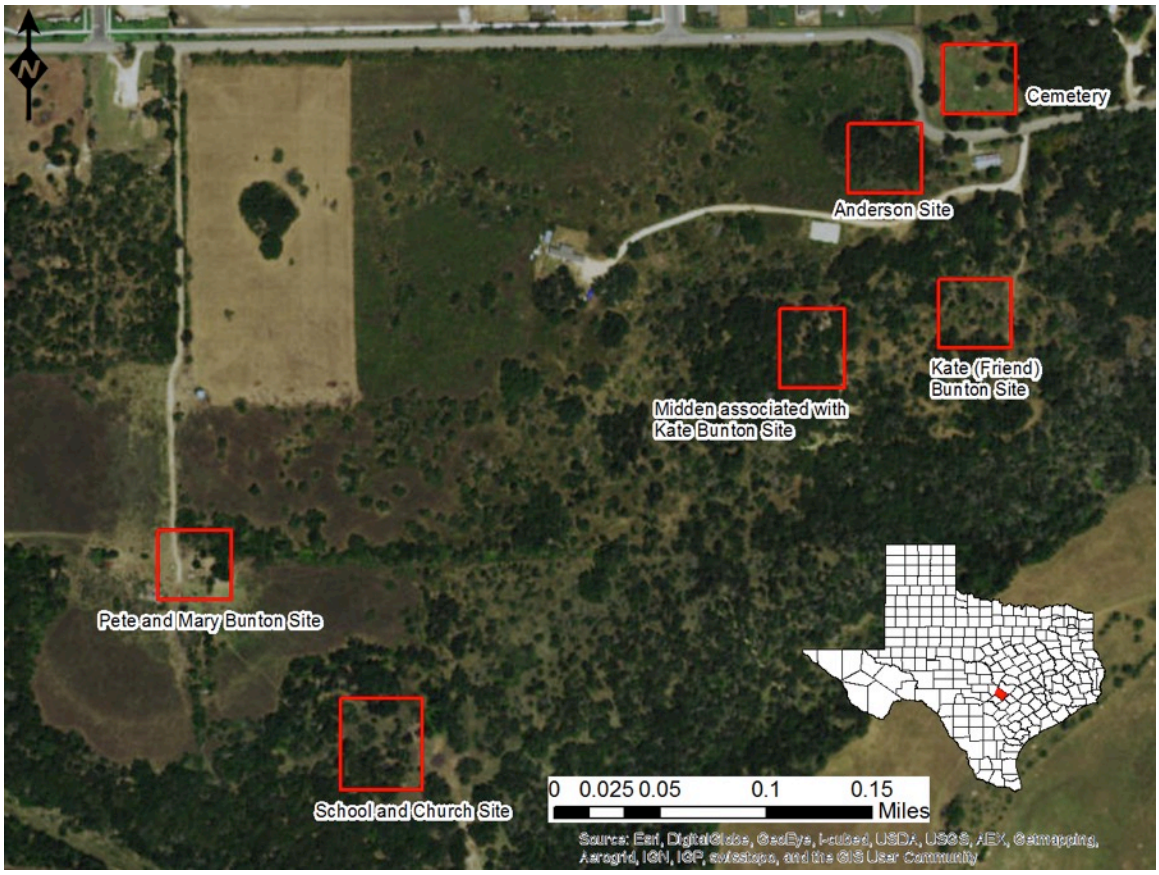


Figure 3.1: Locations of sites surveyed and/or excavated as a part of the Antioch Colony research project.

The earliest marked burial indicates that the cemetery was established by December of 1870. The graveyard remains active, and includes the burials of 143 individuals. Maria Franklin, her former graduate student Nedra Lee, and researchers at the University of Texas at Austin's Texas Archeological Research Laboratory (TARL), surveyed this cemetery. Kate Bunton was the daughter of Jack and Elizabeth Friend and the wife of William Eugene Bunton, son of Dave and Mary Bunton. Kate occupied the home in the early 1900s. Both her home and the midden site associated with her household was excavated extensively between the years of 2013 and 2015. A third site was the marital

home of Pete and Mary Bunton, built in 1900. Pete was the son of Elias and Clarisa Bunton, and the home was built on land originally owned by his parents. The original home collapsed in the 1990s and the remains are still in place. No archaeological research took place at this dwelling site. The fourth location, the Anderson Site, was the location of Louis R. Anderson's childhood home. His parents, George and Mary Anderson, moved into the home some time in the early 1900s. Mary was the daughter of Newton Peoples and Sally Bunton. Excavations of the Anderson Site took place between 2014-2015. I conducted archaeological research at the fifth site, the location of the first Antioch Colony School and Methodist church. All archaeological research within the community was carried out under the direction of Dr. Maria Franklin, the project's principal investigator, and as part of the UT Anthropology Field School. Although the colony originally consisted of roughly 400 acres, our team had access to only the sites named. We were given permission to excavate on land owned by LeeDell Bunton, Sr., Frank Wright, and Nell Anderson. As of this writing, each landowner has since sold their property.

Since my analysis focused on the church and school, I will only provide an overview of my approach to this particular site. The goal for archaeological research at the school and church was to uncover evidence for spatial practices that occurred across these educational and religious sites. However, the difficulty in locating artifacts dating to the founding and use of the school and church required a methodology reliant on archival research and geographical practices. Due to post-abandonment salvage activities at the site, there was little left with respect to architectural remains and other artifacts.

Fortunately, one of the strengths of historical archaeology is using multidisciplinary methods to answer questions regarding how humans used material culture in their daily lives. Therefore, I adapted methods from archaeology, geography, and history to recover data and interpret how residents of Antioch Colony engaged with their institutional spaces, and to examine the associated residential patterns between the years of 1870 and 1940.

The methodological approach to the investigation of the Church and School site was informed by "siteless" and "off-site" survey techniques as discussed by Robert C. Dunnell (1992), E.B. Banning (2002), and T.J. Wilkinson (2001). Even though such methods are designed to sample vast regions, these methods were incorporated into the research design because they provide an alternate method for studying landscapes that generally produce lower artifact quantities. Generally, proponents of off-site techniques argue that the category of "site" is an arbitrary boundary marker that ignores the range of human activity across space. Further, the reliance on high concentrations of artifacts to verify the presence of a site and to validate archaeological exploration excludes features that tend to have little to no artifact refuse—e.g. fences, gardens, fields, and pathways—but have the potential to provide equally useful information (Banning 2002:19; Dunnell 1992:27; Wilkinson 2001:531–533).

I felt that off-site survey methods were most applicable to the excavation of the school and church site precisely because it allows for a landscape analysis that considers yards a valid subject of archaeological inquiry and provides alternative ways to analyze areas where little to no archaeological material exists. These methods, furthermore, orient

researchers to address relationships between dwelling and non-residential features, allowing consideration of how such features figured into the operation of daily life.

My attraction to geographical methods was primarily because of the disciplinary focus on spatial analysis, human-environment interactions, and analysis of place-dependent processes at multiple geographic scales (Baerwald 2010:497; Hanson 2004: 720). Building on this, geographical methods were adapted in this dissertation to understand engagement with institutional spaces among African Americans at the level of the archaeological site, rural community, and finally, the city. Moreover, as demonstrated in Chapter Six, I relied heavily on geographic principles of proximity and space dependent processes to examine the residential practices of migrants to the city. In the aforementioned chapter, I strove to address one question: once rural residents left the countryside for the city, what factors, if any, affected their residential mobility?

I principally engaged with archival and oral sources to provide context and derive meaning from artifacts recovered at Antioch Colony (Chapter Five). Additionally, I engaged with these sources to provide context for how people understood and lived in their spatial environments (Chapters Two, Five, Seven). My approach to using archival and oral sources in this manner was largely informed by a belief that the written and oral history records would provide clues for understanding how people perceived the world around them and used material culture in their daily lives. However, I acknowledge that each of these sources has its limitations.

Michel-Rolph Trouillot describes archival sources as being comprised of presences and absences of details that occurred in the past; succinctly, "something is

always left out while something else is recorded" (1995:48–49). This process, which he calls "silences," is produced at the moment of recording an event, the creation of the archive, and through the selection of records to construct a historical narrative (Trouillot 1995:50–53). The most prominent silences that I experienced while collecting primary sources was my inability in locating historical accounts written by the men and women who lived in the colony between the years of 1870 and 1930. This is an unsurprising reality to a steward of Black history, as the system of slavery made it almost impossible for Black Americans, free or enslaved, to become literate. Although many men and women gained literacy after emancipation, many did not leave primary records behind. Due to this fact, I drew from a wide breadth of historical sources in the hopes of obtaining glimpses into what life was like for those in the colony. Because many of the sources I drew from contained their own set of silences, especially considering that the majority were not explicitly about residents of Antioch Colony, I had to make inferences and draw analogies between the historical record and the archaeological record at Antioch Colony (e.g., using a report on the common school system and Black Southerners, edited by W.E.B. Du Bois, to understand the nature of education at Antioch Colony in its capacity as a Southern Black settlement). These sources, which are described below and provided in full detail in Appendix A, included school superintendents' reports for Hays County, the writings of Booker T. Washington, reports produced by W.E.B. Du Bois and others affiliated with Atlanta University, reports of researchers from the University of Texas at Austin, and historical photographs.

Oral history is also fraught with its own issues. Memory is not infallible and is often shaped with consideration of present conditions, including the audience and the purposes of the study (Purser 1992:27). However, Margaret Purser notes that oral history research in historical archaeology has "…the potential to explain relationships *between* objects and their broader social and material contexts, paralleling and critiquing archaeological interpretation…" (Purser 1992:32, emphasis in original). I found Purser's findings applicable to this study, and used oral history as a means to understand the broader context for residents' engagement with their religious and educational landscapes and aspects of the material record recovered from the church and school sites.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON ANTIOCH COLONY

Antioch Colony has been the subject of two historical narratives. The history of the Antioch School was included in a M.A. thesis, "The History of Education in Hays County, Texas," written by Walter Edward Willis in 1937. Due to my inability to locate scholastic records on the Antioch School dating to the 1870s and early 1880s, this source provided information about the year Antioch School first opened, including the number of students in its inaugural class, its relationship to other early African American schools in the county, and placed the school within the broader context of education within the county. The second narrative appeared as a chapter in the volume *Clear Springs and Limestone Ledges: A History of San Marcos and Hays County for the Texas Sesquicentennial,* edited by Frances Stovall and Cindy McCoy (1986). This chapter provided a history of the colony. This source detailed the founding of the colony, the kinds of household and community activities residents engaged in, and kinship among members of the community.

Additional research on Antioch Colony was conducted through the Ransom and Sarah Williams Farmstead Project (RSWFP). The RSWFP was an archaeological investigation of a farmstead in Manchaca, Travis County, Texas, owned by emancipated African Americans Ransom and Sarah (Lee 2014:32). This project was a joint effort by Prewitt and Associates, Inc. (PAI), Preservation Central, and the University of Texas at Austin's Department of Anthropology, and funded by the Texas Department of Transportation (Lee 2014:33). Doug Boyd served as principal investigator and my advisor, Maria Franklin, served as a consultant on the project. Because of the location of the household in a predominately White community that lacked a schoolhouse and church for Black residents, researchers began to look to nearby communities to locate where the Williams family likely received these services. Due to its close proximity to the Williams household, researchers believed that the family fellowshipped at Antioch Colony (Boyd et al. 2015:135–137). To delineate possible connections between the Williams family and members of the Antioch community, extensive archival research was conducted. Due to the efforts of researchers from RSWFP, and Franklin's particular interest and investment in the history of Antioch Colony, the archaeological research into the colony began under Maria Franklin's direction.

As part of an effort to involve and collaborate with descendants on the RSWFP, Franklin and her former graduate student, Nedra Lee (now an assistant professor at The University of Massachusetts, Boston), collected oral histories from former residents of the colony in 2009. These transcripts were published in 2012 as volume one of *"I'm Proud to Know What I Know": Oral Narratives of Travis and Hays Counties, Texas, ca. 192's-1960s,* edited by Franklin. I analyzed nine separate interviews of former colony

residents. These nine interviewees were from two separate households: the Harpers and Revadas (Table 3.1). All interviewees resided in their respective households as children between the years of 1915 to 1956 (Franklin 2012:11–14). Of course, these narratives are limited because of the fact that they represent the childhood memories of former residents and that they represent just two different families. However, because there are nine interviews, I was able to corroborate the information provided by informants with information provided by other people interviewed. These oral histories were an invaluable source of information. As such, they primarily serve as an interpretive tool that helped to contextualize the archaeological and archival data. These memories also provided information on the history of the colony and personal accounts of the treatment of African Americans in central Texas. Because of the wealth of information that these histories provided, unmatched by any other primary or secondary source, they are quoted extensively throughout the dissertation.

Interviewee Name	Gender	Date of Birth	Household	Time Span
LeeDell Bunton, Sr.	M	9/19/46	Harper	1946-1955
Ruth Roberta Fears	F	5/4/31	Harper	1931-1948
Moses Harper, Sr.	M	7/26/43	Harper	1943-1955
Samuel Harper, Sr.	M	6/10/45	Harper	1945-1955
Winnie Martha Moyer	F	7/29/37	Harper	1937-1956
Minnie Mary Nelson	F	7/29/37	Harper	1937-1956
Marian Missouri Washington	F	1/18/25	Harper	1924-1946
Joan Nell Limuel	F	3/24/34	Revada	1938-1947
Anthy Lee Walker	F	9/14/15	Revada	1915-1931

Table 3.1: List of former residents interviewed by Maria Franklin and Nedra Lee in 2009. Names, gender, birthdate, household membership, and approximate time they lived in Antioch Colony are included. Information adapted from (Franklin 2012:12–13).

Descendants were concerned that there may be unmarked burials within and outside of the boundaries of the community's cemetery. In an effort to demonstrate good faith, Franklin assembled a team that included Lee, Darrell Creel (former director of TARL), and Dale Hudler (former staff archeologist at TARL) to use ground penetrating radar (GPR) and magnetometry to locate possible burials (Figures 3.2-3.4). The survey found a possible row of unmarked burials within the bounds of the cemetery.

Figures 3.2 to 3.4: Clockwise from top: Dale Hudler supervising as Nedra Lee conducts the GPR within cemetery boundaries. Dr. Maria Franklin and Dale Hudler posing with the GPR. Waiting during preparation for survey, from left to right Dale Hudler, LeeDell Bunton, Nedra Lee and Samuel Harper, background.

ARCHAEOLOGY AT ANTIOCH COLONY

Preliminary Survey

I was introduced to the community in January of 2011 when I participated in a community walking tour led by LeeDell Bunton, a former resident of the colony and active collaborator on the Antioch Colony research project, during the celebration of the community's Texas State Historical Marker ceremony. Bunton showed Franklin, Lee, and myself the locations of the former school, the Kate Bunton home site, and the Pete and Mary Bunton house remains. In March of that year, Franklin, Lee, Bunton, and myself was joined by Jonathan Jarvis, of TARL, to survey and record sites of interest with a sub-meter global positioning system (GPS). The goal of this survey was to record the location of the Kate Bunton home and midden site and identify any other sites related to the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century occupations of the community. We recorded a wooden post and the midden associated with the Kate Bunton home and a wooden post associated with the school. In October of 2011, a team returned to Antioch with a sub-meter GPS to map in significant features and structures in and around the School and Church site.

2013 Field Season

Archaeological research formally began at the Church and School site in the summer of 2013 as a part of the UT Anthropology Field School. Undergraduate students assisted me with the survey and excavation of the site over a total of four weeks. An additional week was spent washing and bagging artifacts at TARL.

Before any survey or excavation work began, students spent two weeks clearing brush. Roughly 17 meters of surface area was cleared so that a site grid that covered both the school and church could be established. Clearing the site also provided ease in locating archaeological assemblages that previously went unnoticed due to heavy brush in the area. After clearing, the second phase of research, surveying the area for remnants of the former church building, began. Students were tasked with detecting an approximate location of the former church site using coordinates derived from a geo-referenced 1937 aerial photograph and a handheld GPS. Once the former site was established on the ground, confirmation that *something* likely was there was found via the presence of stained glass on the ground surface similar in kind to the glass found at the school site.

During this time, one day was spent shovel testing the area. One issue that prompted the need to test the school and church areas was to determine if artifact visibility provided a good indication of what was below the ground or if areas that were seemingly barren actually yielded sub-surface archaeological materials that dated to the earliest occupation of the site. Shovel tests were conducted at two-meter intervals and targeted areas that we thought had the potential to provide positive results—inside the school building and the area directly north of the building—as these areas had visible surface materials. These surface materials included intact glass bottles, reconstructable glass shards from a container, window glass, and a fragment from a stoneware jar. In total, 14 shovel tests were placed throughout the site. Of these tests, ten provided positive results while four tests yielded negative results (Figure 3.5). All shovel test pits were dug

until a culturally sterile level was reached. Although this method was initially chosen to determine where the initial excavation should occur, shovel testing was quickly abandoned when it became apparent that, for the most part, surface artifact assemblages were a good indication of areas that would provide positive yields. Artifacts recovered through shovel testing were bagged according to their assigned shovel test number and processed at TARL.

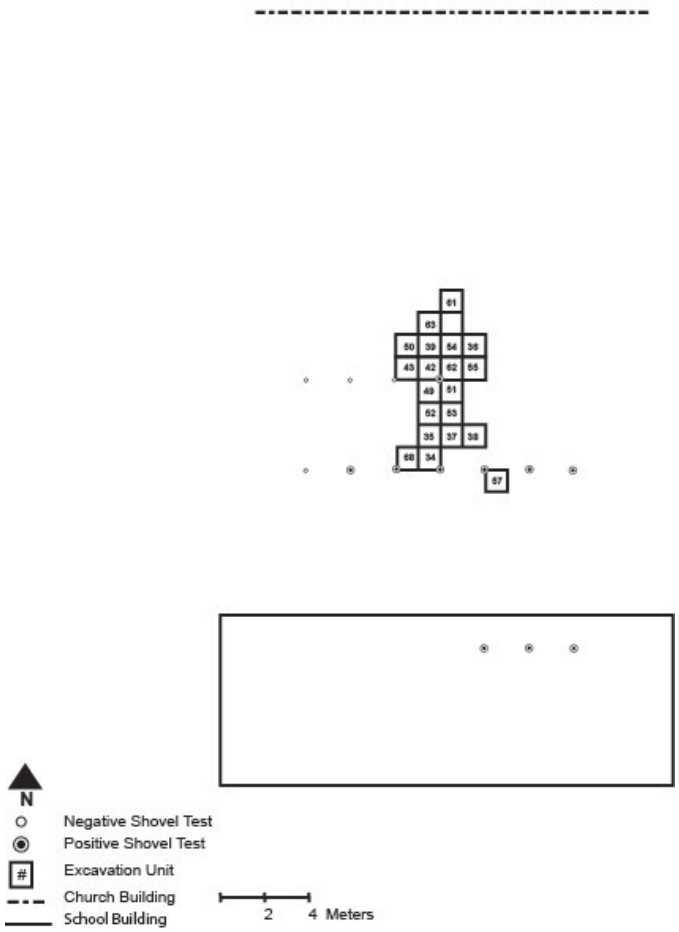


Figure 3.5: Map detailing shovel tests and test excavations.

Excavation formerly began on July 29, 2013 and was concentrated six to ten meters north of the school building. Initially, the area between the former school building and church building was chosen for practical reasons. This area had a high concentration of historic-period artifacts not exhibited elsewhere at the site. Rocky terrain and extensive sediment erosion plagues the landscape, which hindered a diachronic analysis. Unfortunately, one side effect of digging in a heavily eroded area is that most excavation units were sterile at between 10 to 15 centimeters. The upside was that surface finds were a good indication of what one would expect to find below the surface.

A total of twenty 1x1 meter units were opened in this area north of the school building. Each unit was dug until a culturally sterile sediment layer was reached, typically between 10 to 15 centimeters below surface. All soil was hand screened using a 1/4 inch wire mesh. Preliminary artifact processing occurred at TARL. At this location all artifacts were washed, separated by material type, and bagged according to unit and level number.

After initial processing artifacts were counted and sorted into the following functional groups:

- Clothing and Adornment
- Domestic
- Faunal
- Firearms
- Healthcare
- Hygiene and Grooming

- Leisure and Play
- Lithics
- Structural
- Transportation
- Unidentifiable

During this time, artifacts were recorded in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet created for the project. This second stage of artifact sorting and cataloging occurred at TARL. A total of 2,144 artifacts were recovered and recorded according to the functional grouping outlined above (Table 3.2).

Functional Group	Count	Percentage
Clothing and Adornment	1	0.05%
Health Care	1	0.05%
Hygiene and Grooming	1	0.05%
Lithics	1	0.05%
Faunal	2	0.09%
Firearms	3	0.14%
Transportation	3	0.14%
Institutional	4	0.19%
Domestic	571	26.63%
Unidentifiable	691	32.23%
Structural	866	40.39%
Total	2144	100.00%

Table 3.2: Number of artifacts collected by functional group.

Of this total, 32 percent (n=691) are unidentifiable artifacts, mainly undiagnostic glass shards and metal fragments. Forty percent (n=866) of the assemblage is comprised of structural artifacts, with mostly nails and window glass. Another 26.6 percent (n=571) of

the assemblage is composed of domestic artifacts, largely glass bottle shards. Additionally, a total of 402 lignite coal remnants were collected. Lignite coal was initially collected because it was believed to be cultural. It now appears that the lignite coal is naturally occurring in the area and therefore not representative of cultural use.

GEOGRAPHICAL METHODS

The GIS software suite ArcGIS by Esri was used to visualize and analyze spatial data (that is, migration and residential patterns) collected from historical sources. A spatial database was created for this project that held all relevant files needed to represent and examine spatial and movement patterns. All data imported into ArcGIS used the NAD 1983 (2011) map projection. The methods utilized are discussed in detail below.

Georeferencing

All of the historical maps collected for the dissertation had to be geo-referenced—the process of assigning coordinates to images so that they can be overlayed onto modern maps and aerial images. The geo-referencing toolbox available through ArcMap, a dedicated mapping platform available through the ArcGIS program suite, made the process easy. Historical Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, 1935 Home Owners' Loan Corporation Redlining Map for Austin, Texas, and historical aerial photographs for Buda, were adapted into ArcMap using this method of assigning coordinates.

Geocoding

To make full use of the spatial information provided through the census records I recorded the residential information of migrants with the goal of integrating this information in ArcMap. As discussed in Chapter One, my method of geocoding was adapted from steps outlined by Kurt Schlichting, Peter Tuckel, and Richard Maisel

(2006). Address information was compiled into separate Excel spreadsheets according to year of residence. I created four separate tables for the years 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1940. These tables could then be matched to a master address locator for counties in the United States so that a home could be affixed geographically and accurately represented on a map.

Once residential information was collected for each individual by census year the second step was to create an address locator. I collected 2014 TIGER/Line Road Shapefiles available through census.gov for the following counties in Texas: Dallas, Harris, Hays, Tarrant, and Travis. Additionally, road shapefiles for Los Angeles County, California, and Pontotoc County, Oklahoma, were downloaded through the census website as well. These data sets were chosen because they represent all counties that residents of Antioch Colony relocated to between the years of 1910 and 1940. For convenience I then merged all of the data into one shapefile in ArcMap.

The third step required that I add the road shapefile discussed above as a reference file for the address locator. This involved using the "create address locator" tool in ArcMap and following the instructions provided. Ideally, before doing this I would modify the street file so that it reflected streets that existed in the early to mid twentieth century to minimize errors in the matching process. These issues arose due to the renaming of streets, the demolition of all or portions of roads, incomplete address information available, or general user error. Because this is a time-consuming process requiring that contemporary street names and address ranges be compared against historical city address listings I only modified the addresses in the event that residences could not be located using the address locator created.

Once the address locator was established I could begin the geocoding process. I conducted this process on a table-by-table basis by recording the results once the process was complete for each table (Table 3.3).

Year	Number of Addresses	Number Matched	Percent Matched	Number Unmatched	Percent Unmatched
1910	32	32	100%	0	0%
1920	75	56	76%	19	24%
1930	173	135	78%	38	22%
1940	159	141	89%	18	11%

Table 3.3: Number of matched and unmatched addresses from the geocoding process.

For the 1910 census year, all addresses of 32 people were matched, resulting in a 100% completion rate. For 1920, 76 percent (n=56) of addresses were matched, leaving 24 percent (n=19) unmatched. In 1930, a total of 173 people were recorded in my spreadsheet. Of those 173, 78 percent (n=135) were matched; 22 percent (n=38) were unmatched. Finally, I recorded a total of 159 people for the 1940 census. Of those 159, 89 percent (n=141) were matched leaving 11 percent (n=18) unmatched.

Geographic Visualization

Coinciding with its ability to conduct spatial analysis, GIS software is also a powerful tool to represent spatial patterns that would otherwise go unnoticed. Known Black institutions and communities within Austin were mapped. This involved the use of geo-referenced Sanborn maps to locate schools, churches, and other related institutions. Typically, on Sanborn and other maps from the late eighteenth up until the mid twentieth centuries, institutions for Black people are referred to as such, for example "Negro Baptist Church" or "colored school." Michelle M. Mears' (2009) monograph, *And Grace*

Will Lead Me Home: African American Freedmen Communities of Austin, Texas, 1865-1928, was another source used to map freedmen's communities and associated institutions in the Austin area. Additionally, I used city directories for Austin to obtain addresses of Black schools in the city. These addresses where then imported into ArcMap.

Mapping these communities and institutions and representing them alongside the geocoded addresses allowed me to answer spatial questions concerning proximity: how many households were located within freedmen's communities, how many households were located with one mile of the nearest school, and how many homes were located in East Austin compared to the number of households located in West Austin. Due to the small data set, conducting higher-level spatial statistics would have been futile since the resulting spatial patterns using the existing data were already easily recognizable. However, the mean center among households in Austin was calculated using the mean center tool in ArcMap. This was done to assess where migrants tended to reside in each census year and to determine if residential choice was impacted by segregation measures implemented by city planners (discussed in Chapter 7).

ARCHIVAL METHODS

As project historian for the Ransom and Sarah Williams Farmstead Project, Terri Myers conducted substantial archival research on members of Antioch Colony. Her efforts and report in *The Ransom and Sarah Williams Farmstead: Post-Emancipation Transitions of an African American Family in Central Texas* (2015) provided the

groundwork for identifying community boundaries and the changing residential population between the years of 1870 to 1930 (Boyd et al. 2015: 88–111).

Using the information provided by Myers, I began my historical research by conducting genealogical research using the Ancestry website ("Ancestry" 2015). Because of the convenience of Ancestry I was able to conduct research on each individual resident listed in census records by accessing a range of primary documents. These documents included: individual-level census, death, and burial records, World War I and II draft registrations, and city directories. A general database that held information about all residents of Antioch Colony and their descendants was created in Microsoft Excel to record and organize information obtained from these varied sources. A total of 467 people were recorded into this spreadsheet. This database included the following information:

- First and last name
- Full names of mother and father (where available)
- Name of spouse, if applicable
- Birth date and birthplace (if available)
- Death date, age at death, and location of death
- Name of hospital that attended to the deceased (if applicable)
- Burial location (where available)
- Occupation at death
- Residence at death

Historical geographers have demonstrated how genealogical research can provide useful information about migration and settlement. There are two examples particularly relevant to this dissertation. The first is Samuel M. Otterstrom and Brian E. Bunker's (2013) study of colonial settlement and westward expansion in the United States. By tracing the birthplaces of parent and child, the authors followed changing mobility and settlement practices over successive generations. Through their research the authors demonstrate how this method of analysis provides a new way to study aspects of diaspora that develop through familial migration. The second relevant example is Tiina Peil and Madeleine Bonow's (2014) study of rural farming communities in nineteenth-century Estonia and Sweden. By using the genealogical sources available, the authors were able to retrace the mobility of individuals over time in order to address aspects of rural life during this historic period.

CONCLUSION

Due to the lack of recovering a high quantity of artifacts at the Church and School site that both dated to the founding of these institutions, and that spoke to educational and religious activities, my research agenda changed to consider how African Americans used institutional spaces to mold their natural and cultural environments. This required that I expand the scope of my project, and to integrate methods from the disciplines of history and geography. The resulting mixed-methods approach to data analysis compelled me to analyze data from a wide range of sources. These sources included archaeological evidence, historical maps, census records, and city directory information to understand how African Americans during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

perceived, conceived, and lived in their landscapes. Although my research took a different turn, as a result I was able to examine how Black Southerners constructed and interacted with their socio-cultural environments.

Archaeological data recovered through shovel testing and excavation were made meaningful when contextualized by the archival data. This integrated analysis meant that I could then address how people in the past used institutions to shape behaviors believed to serve the betterment of the Black race. Material culture served an important role in socializing the Black community of Antioch into what they believed to be the ideal community resident: moral, self-sufficient, American citizens. To put it in other terms, Antioch's community used material culture to realize their notions of self help through hard work and mutual obligation, and to enculturate others into this ethic. The institutional spaces of the church and school were primary locales through which this enculturation process took place, but it also occurred within the home.

Geographical analysis not only allowed me to assess human-environment interaction, but also provided me with the opportunity to examine the process that led to the racialization of institutional spaces, particularly Black schools, and how this affected the residential mobility of migrants to Austin. As I will discuss in Chapter 7, this racialization process on the part of White Austinites ran contrary to Black conceptions of the school as a place where children received vocational training and education that would allow them to become self-reliant adults.

Lastly, I would be remiss if I did not mention that I greatly benefitted from others' efforts to digitize archival data. While nothing can replace the intimate interaction with historical records that the archival library provides, making such data publically available through the internet allowed me to cast a much wider net when collecting historical

sources. This dissertation, in part, is a testament to how digital collections promote intellectual inquiry into the past.

Chapter 4: Population of Antioch Colony Between the Years of 1870 and 1920

In this chapter I build on the history of Antioch Colony (Chapter Two) by focusing on the changing population of the community between the years of 1870 and 1920. I examine census data to demonstrate the importance of Antioch Colony's landmarks—the school and church—to attracting area families to move into the colony and for compelling others to remain in the colony. Movement was an important factor in shaping Antioch Colony, and the landmarks were important in attracting people to move into the community (Tuan 1977). Through my analysis of the demographics, I demonstrate how the community relied on two factors for a steady population: a constant stream of families from nearby areas migrating into the colony and adults who came of age and established their own households within the community. For those who emigrated into the colony, an analysis of census data reveal that they had four strategies for fully embedding themselves into the community: they either 1) chose to marry someone with kin residing in the colony, 2) had a household with school-aged children, 3) moved with other relatives who were also new to the community, or 4) became active in the church or school community. Employing this fourth strategy relied upon the ability to freely access institutional spaces, and this point is expanded upon further in Chapter Five.

The integral role of movement in shaping Black communities has historical lineages to slavery. Historical monographs on mobility within the South during the antebellum period demonstrate how essential movement was in creating a sense of place

and community among Black Americans. In *Joining Places,* Anthony E. Kaye (2007) uses the neighborhood as a unit of analysis to explore social relations of enslaved people across space and place. In particular, he explores how enslaved Blacks, through daily patterns of movement, remade the plantation landscape into a series of distinct yet adjoining neighborhoods. In this manner, by negotiating between their legal status as chattel and their human ability to be mobile, enslaved African Americans were able to transform adjoining plantations into distinct networks of "slave neighborhoods" (Kaye 2007:38–41; 150–151). These neighborhoods were connected through kin relations, labor relations, and sanctioned social activities. Thomas C. Buchanan (2004) similarly provides an analysis of the role Black mobility played in crafting social networks among enslaved people. In this historical account, Buchanan relies on historic manuscripts, newspapers, court cases, and slave testimonies to reveal the contradictory nature of Black labor and life on river steamboats along the Mississippi River. The level of mobility that steamboat work provided allowed enslaved African Americans to build and maintain extensive social networks with Black plantation communities along the Mississippi River. Steamboat work expanded the world of the enslaved person and allowed them to make meaningful connections with far-reaching communities that were otherwise inaccessible. Kaye's and Buchanan's studies of enslaved communities demonstrate that the practices of movement and place making at Antioch Colony were likely informed by their familiarity with these kinds of engagements during slavery.

Similarly, scholars of European history highlight how those in the countryside were always on the move. David E. Vassberg's (1996) study of Spanish villagers in

Castile during the Golden Age serves to discredit the immobile villager myth. His analysis of historical documents demonstrates the multiple scales of movement Spanish villagers engaged in, often spurred by commerce, political instability, labor opportunities, marriage, exile, and banishment from the countryside. Vassberg's primary argument is that rural life necessitated social connections with others outside of the village. The connections made with those in the "outside world" spurred movement both within and out of the village. Similarly, Tiina Peil and Madeleine Bonow's (2014) study of nineteenth-century Estonia and Sweden calls into question the assumption that the rural village has always been a stable entity disengaged with much of modernity. According to the authors, this concept of equating the rural to stability is a modern concept designed as a coping mechanism to deal with a rapidly changing countryside (Peil and Bonow 2014:248). They synthesize genealogical and historical demographic data to explore mobility practices common in both regions during the 1800s. In contrast to popular assumptions, farmers often moved to access more expansive labor opportunities or after marriage required relocation.

Although these studies focus on mobility within the European countryside, they indicate how people within the countryside were regularly on the move as their social networks expanded through marriage, economic possibilities, or political instability. Vassberg demonstrates how rural people were often not isolated from the wider world around them, and in fact, engagement with commerce and social events required that people were intimately linked in processes of movement that connected them to others outside of their village. Similarly, I found that the social institutions at Antioch Colony

allowed the original residents to expand their social networks as new families, essentially strangers to the core community founders, moved into the community or regularly attended the school and church. In this regard, the community's school and church were propellers of movement, as they provided two of the few places Blacks in northern Hays County could receive an education or worship with other African Americans. Moreover, as Peil and Bonow indicate, the countryside was often a site of instability as people regularly moved into and out of rural communities. The mundaneness of movement is readily exhibited at Antioch Colony, where the community was in many ways dependent on streams of in-migration to contribute to its population. The residents of Antioch were well adapted to people moving in, out, and within the community, reinforcing the notions of Vassberg, Peil, and Bonow that rural people were intimately engaged with larger scales of movement.

In the next section I discuss the population of Antioch Colony between the years of 1870 and 1930 which reveals how patterns of movement were integral to the settlement's expansion over this time period.

RESIDENTIAL POPULATION, 1870-1930

The population within the colony varied considerably between the years of 1870 and 1930. When necessary I draw on other data to explain the population data, but for the most part I focus solely on numbers derived from census data. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 provide an abbreviated explanation of the data discussed in detail below. The term "new residents" refers only to newcomers who previously did not reside in the colony at any point in their life. "New household" refers to families who do not appear on any previous

census lists and can include adults who came of age in the colony. That is, a "new household" was the result of either emigrants moving into the colony, or an existing resident who subsequently married and established their own household.

Year	Number of New Residents	Total Population	New Residents (Percent)
1870	60	60	100%
1880	54	88	61%
1900	20	85	24%
1910	79	152	52%
1920	10	78	13%
1930	11	100	11%

Table 4.1: Population in Antioch Colony between the years of 1870 and 1930.

Year	Number of New Households	Total Households	New Households (Percent)
1870	8	8	100%
1880	11	16	69%
1900	11	17	65%
1910	15	29	52%
1920	6	19	32%
1930	9	21	43%

Table 4.2: Population in Antioch Colony between the years of 1870 and 1930 by number of households.

In 1870, census takers recorded eight different households for a total of 60 people living in the colony. Heads of households for these families included: Peter and Georgiana Beard, Dave and Mary Bunton, Elias and Clarisa Bunton, James and Georgiana Hamilton, George and Caroline Rector, Harris and Elizabeth Watson, John

and Betsy Hughes, and George and Missouri Kavanaugh. It appears that all heads of household were property owners. By 1871, these families were joined by George and Rose Champ and William and Ellen Smith (Boyd et al. 2015:87). These ten families were the founders of the colony. Once the founding families established the colony one important key to its longevity was the ability to attract families into the area. This required that members of a household believed that the benefits of residing within the colony far outweighed the amenities offered by their current and other possible residential situations.

Tuan indicates that one of the defining aspects of place is the creation of landmarks (Tuan 1977:154–182). These landmarks served to provide people a connection to place through cultivating a sense of place, shared heritage, and feelings of stasis. Moreover, these landmarks often encouraged mobility by indicating to others the opportunities that exist within a new place. Antioch Colony stood out on the landscape because of the presence of Black landowners, a school, and a church. Institutions, in particular, would have served as landmarks of significance, providing one of the few places where Black children could receive an education in Hays County and where Black families would have access to a church congregation. Non-resident members of these institutions would have patronized these places fairly regularly, which would have acquainted them to the possibilities available in the colony.

In 1880, the colony expanded to include 11 newly established households, providing a total of 54 new residents, for a total community population of 88 people. Of the 54 new residents, I traced a place of origin for 29 people. All 29 moved from other

areas within Hays County, mostly the northern part of the county that likely included Buda and Mountain City, indicating that these households engaged in short-distance residential migration practices.

1890 census data is unavailable because a 1921 fire destroyed these records (Blake 1996). However, in 1900, a total of 11 new households were established within the community. These 11 households contributed a total of 20 new residents for an overall population total of 85 residents. Of the 20 people, I located a previous residence for eight. Seven came from elsewhere in Hays County, likely from the surrounding Buda area. One family, the Bunkleys, came from Travis County. Charles Bunkley was married to Adeline Kavanaugh-Bunkley, the daughter of George Washington Kavanaugh, Sr. and Missouri Kavanaugh, thus Bunkley's migration to the colony was the result of marrying one of its existing residents.

In 1910, the population increased to 152 residents. There were 16 new households that contributed 80 new residents. This population boom appears to be due to an increased level of area families relocating to Antioch Colony and a number of children coming of age and establishing their own households within the community between the years of 1901 and 1910. Of the 80 new residents, I could determine a previous residence for 71 using census records. Thirty-one people relocated from other areas near Antioch Colony and Buda, with an additional 18 who moved from elsewhere in Hays and Travis Counties, indicating that short-distance migration was, once again, a major factor in the population increase.

Widowed or divorced women headed four of these newly established households. The women, Ann Sneed, Sarah Tinnons-Stevenson, Rosa Tinnons, and Mattie Mullins, all had social ties to the community. The daughter of Ann Sneed, Kate Sneed-Robertson, moved into the colony with her husband Peter Robertson by 1910. Sarah Tinnons-Stevenson had two children by Dan Friend, who also resided in the colony. Moreover, Sarah Tinnons-Stevenson was the sibling of Rosa Tinnons, which explains in part why Rosa Tinnons decided to relocate to the area. Mattie Mullins' eldest two daughters were born in Buda in the early 1890s, which indicates that Mattie Mullins was undoubtedly familiar with Antioch Colony, and perhaps resided within or near the community for a time. The residential mobility of these four women signal how a sudden dramatic life event, such as the death of, or divorce from, a spouse, required women to rely on social networks to re-establish their households.

While Antioch Colony continued to maintain a healthy residential population for a community of its size, migration into the community declined beginning in 1920. In 1920, a total of six new households were established, contributing to a total number of 10 new residents. In total, there were 19 households accounting for a total population of 78 people within the colony. Similarly, a total of nine new households were established in 1930, providing a total of 11 new residents. Overall, there were 21 households for a total population of 100 people in the colony. Unlike in previous years, adults who grew up in the community constituted a larger number of new households, meaning that in 1920 and 1930 migrants did not contribute significantly to overall population numbers.

KINSHIP TIES

In slavery and freedom African Americans often developed and maintained expansive notions of family units that often included extended relatives and fictive kin—familial relationships between individuals who were not related by blood or marriage (Stewart 2007:165). Extended and fictive kinship was a practice Enslaved Africans adapted from their West African cultural heritage and traditions (Stewart 2007:166). Freed people maintained these expansive notions of kinship developed in slavery, often organizing themselves into family units according to residence at the same plantation, units that could consist of as many as 205 people (Penningroth 2003:170–171). However, kinship, despite its malleability, was not an inclusive concept based on a shared racial identification. The bounds of kinship were based on a person's place of origin and length of residency in an area. An example provided by Dylan C. Penningroth illustrates this point:

Beginning in 1862, some ex-slaves began to use terms like "Georgia" and "home place" to define the boundaries of an emerging community in which longtime residents were clearly distinguished from "strangers"…Many of those who had grown up in the Sea Islands said that "the new-comers were 'only Georgia niggers'… 'low down country niggers.' (Penningroth 2003:173).

Rightful community membership and group belonging were often asserted through shared heritage to, or long-term residency within, a specific place. Migration often demarcated differences in Black identity, inspiring justifications for member exclusion and mediating claims to property and labor (Penningroth 2003:173–175). Strangers and residents without strong communal ties "…lacked the social networks of kinship or long residence that shielded community members. Their vulnerability made it easy for

longtime residents to integrate them as junior, inferior members of their families and communities" (Penningroth 2003:175).

The negotiations of kinship, as outlined by Penningroth, demonstrate differences that often existed within Black communities. His analysis of kinship dynamics highlight that while racial identification and a shared history of oppression often formed the cornerstone of building Black community and diasporic identity, freedmen often used kinship and place heritage to mark differences between individuals and families within a community. As Penningroth argues, demarcating difference along kinship in this manner afforded families the ability to protect their claims over property and labor, and formed the basis of how resources were to be shared. While a person's status as a stranger did not preclude a new resident from being integrated into a community, hierarchies may have existed based on kinship and length of residency. For another example I turn to Elizabeth Rauh Bethel. In her monograph of a freedmen's community in South Carolina, Bethel notes that familial connections to previous leaders active within the church community were of upmost importance in determining who would receive coveted spots as trustees, stewards, and other similar positions (Bethel 1981:138).

The complexity of kinship and community belonging appears to have been no different in Antioch Colony. The founding families were familiar with each other prior to moving to the colony, as they were all previously enslaved in Mountain City (Boyd et al. 2015:92–93). Moreover, a number of them were close relatives. As Penningroth notes, the familiarity with each other, coupled with being enslaved within the same area, likely

provided the strong foundation for a sense of kinship between families even where no blood ties existed.

While it appears that mutual obligation required residents to act in a neighborly manner by helping others within the community, the bonds of kinship seemed to provide extended family members additional benefits. To demonstrate this point, I turn to a series of comments made by LeeDell Bunton. He remembers how self help between neighbors was integral to the health of the community, while kinship ties provided avenues for land ownership and expansion of labor skills:

…I remember when during the winter months with my grandfather, if he killed a hog, if he butchered a hog, lots of people got some of the meat. It wasn't just for us. And people came from town and the neighbors got a piece. The same when they did things. Everybody shared with it. So it was a community that worked well together (Franklin 2012:86).

…if my grandfather was having problems with some of his stock, a cow or say it was a delivery or something, or a cow was sick, you'd see different men in the community come down and give him a hand, you know, to try and diagnose the problem and see what it was (Franklin 2012:86).

Bunton's grandfather was able to achieve property ownership in part due to his kinship to another landowner within the community, John Taylor, who was related to the Harper family by marriage:

My grandfather leased the property from either Mr. Taylor or one of his children. I would imagine he allowed us to rent the property because we were related; however, we didn't live there for free, and we paid to live there (Franklin 2012:82)

At the time he [Bunton's grandfather] didn't own the property that we were living on. Later he leased the Taylor property and eventually purchased it. The Taylor property was the only property he owned in Texas, that's the property that his children live on today and the property that he gave me a share of (Franklin 2012:83).

Further, kinship ties to Mr. Taylor allowed his grandfather to learn skills that helped him expand his economic opportunities:

> *…listening to my grandfather talk about John Taylor, John Taylor was a good man, and he was a very knowledgeable person about a lot of things. As a young man, my grandfather was taught how to make sorghum syrup from John Taylor. The most valuable lesson he taught my grandfather, though, was how to be an independent businessman…* (Franklin 2012:82).

While residents of Antioch Colony cooperated in reciprocal exchanges to build community solidarity (Molm et al. 2007), Bunton's remarks suggests that some aspects of exchange flowed exclusively along kinship lines.

In the next section I discuss kinship ties on a household-by-household basis. Table 4.3 summarizes information discussed in greater detail. As explained by Penningroth, and indicated through Bunton's remarks, kinship was an important vehicle for exchanging property and labor. Using genealogy to ascertain kinship ties provides some insight into community dynamics over successive decades. Through an analysis of kinship, I was able to determine that new residents engaged in at least three strategies to overcome the potential obstacles represented by kinship and residential hierarchies that existed within freedmen's communities. These strategies included marrying someone with pre-established kinship ties, moving into the community with school-aged children, and moving into the community with other relatives who established separate homes.

Census Year	Total New Households	Kin ties to Previous Residents	No Kin but School-Aged Children	No Kin Ties and No School-Aged Children	Moved with Relatives in the Same Census Year	Moved with Relatives and with School-Aged Children
1880	9	5	1	2	1	0
1900	11	9	1	1	0	0
1910	15	3	4	2	2	4
1920	6	4	0	2	0	0

Table 4.3: Number of households that moved into the community with school-aged children, other relatives new to the community, or kinship ties to previous residents.

Terms Defined

I use the term "kinship" and "kinship ties" to refer to households with one or both household heads who were descendants of established residents of the colony. Where notable, I indicate the instances were only one spouse held a familial relationship to previous residents. School-aged children refer to children who were listed as between the ages of 6 and 18 in census records. Original settlers refer to those who founded the community, while early settlers and early residents refer to those who moved into the community in 1880.

Kinship Ties in 1880

While the 1880 census indicates a total of 11 new households, two of those households were established in 1871. Therefore, I traced the kinship of a total of nine households (Figure 4.1). Three households—Porter, Lawson, and Pelham—left no trace in the historical record; therefore, kinship could not be traced. Moreover, of the marked burials at the Antioch Colony Cemetery, none bear the surnames of Porter, Lawson, or Pelham, suggesting that these households severed ties with the community between the years of 1881 and 1899.

For the most part it is the women, and not the men, who demonstrate kinship ties to previously established households. Three women—Ella, Em, and Sally—boasted the last name of Bunton, a surname shared with community founders Dave, Mary, Elias, and Clarisa. Additionally, the household of Ransom and Jane Bunton also indicate some relationship to the founding families. Although I cannot speculate on the nature of the

relationship any further, these shared surnames suggest that, at the very least, they were enslaved together on the Bunton Plantation in Mountain City. Their husbands—Ples, Berry, and Newton—had no demonstrative ties to the founding families. However, all three married Buntons, which allowed them to solidify their kinship to these families.

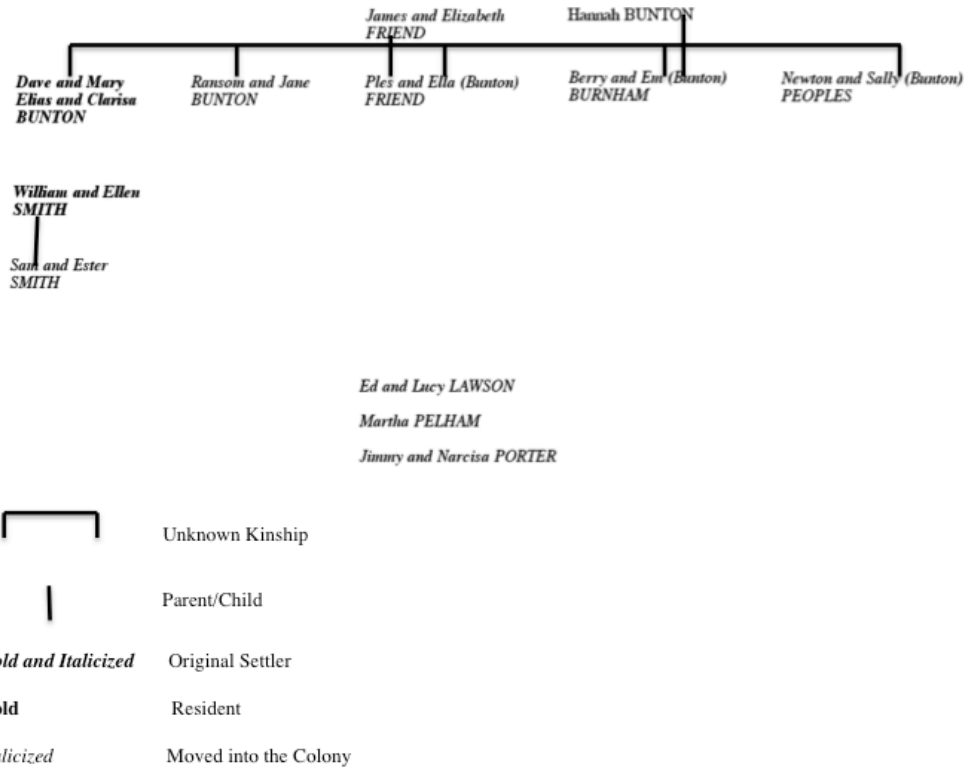


Figure 4.1: Kinship ties between households in 1880.

Kinship Ties in 1900

Of the 11 new households in 1900, nine demonstrated kinship ties with other households already established in the community (Figure 4.2). Of these households, adults whose parents were original settlers or early residents of the colony headed four. These include the households of George and Ida Kavanaugh, James and Harriet Smith,

William and Kate Bunton, and Tony and Emma Bunton. This indicates that these adults came of age within the community and selected marriage partners who had similar community ties. Four other households included one spouse who had previous kinship ties to established residents. Nancy Harper, the wife of Stilman, was the daughter of Adeline Kavanaugh Bunkley and the granddaughter of George and Missouri Kavanaugh. Her mother re-settled into the colony with her husband, Charles. Two men, Daniel Friend and James Bunton, chose marital partners from outside the community. Finally, Estella Bunton established her household with her young daughter. Estella's father was Berry Burnham, an early resident.

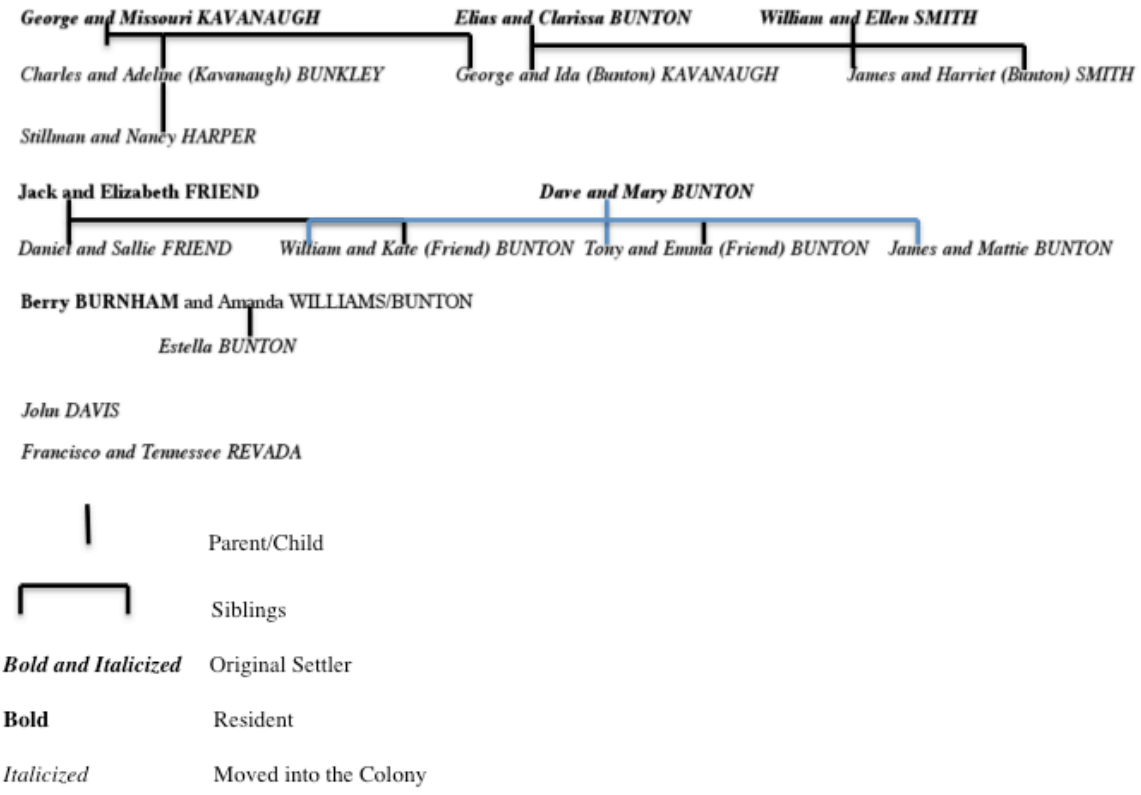


Figure 4.2: Kinship ties between households in 1900.

There were just two households with no demonstrated kinship ties to the community. John Davis was a farmer who rented a home in the community. He later purchased a home within the community and established a household that included a wife and children. The Revadas, on the other hand, moved into the colony with their seven school-aged children.

Kinship Ties in 1910

In 1910, four household heads moved into the community with school-aged children or relatives to a greater degree than in previous years (Figure 4.3). This likely allowed them to integrate into the colony more smoothly than other households. The aforementioned Tinnons sisters, Ann Sneed and Mattie Mullins, are the best examples. Each of these four households included children. Moreover, both the Tinnons sisters and Ann Sneed moved into the community with relatives. Outside of these families, Charlie and Texana Grant moved into the colony at the same time their daughter and son-in-law, Early and Letha Grant Lomax, relocated. Newly established households with children include the following: Sam and Sarah Shoaf, Laura Goodrich-Sampson, and Sam and Alice Wells Stoval. Just three households demonstrated relationships with previous residents. This fact reinforces the importance of in-migration to the sustainability of the community. The Harper, Burnham, and Taylor households each featured one spouse who was a descendant of an original (n=2) or early (n=1) settler of Antioch Colony.

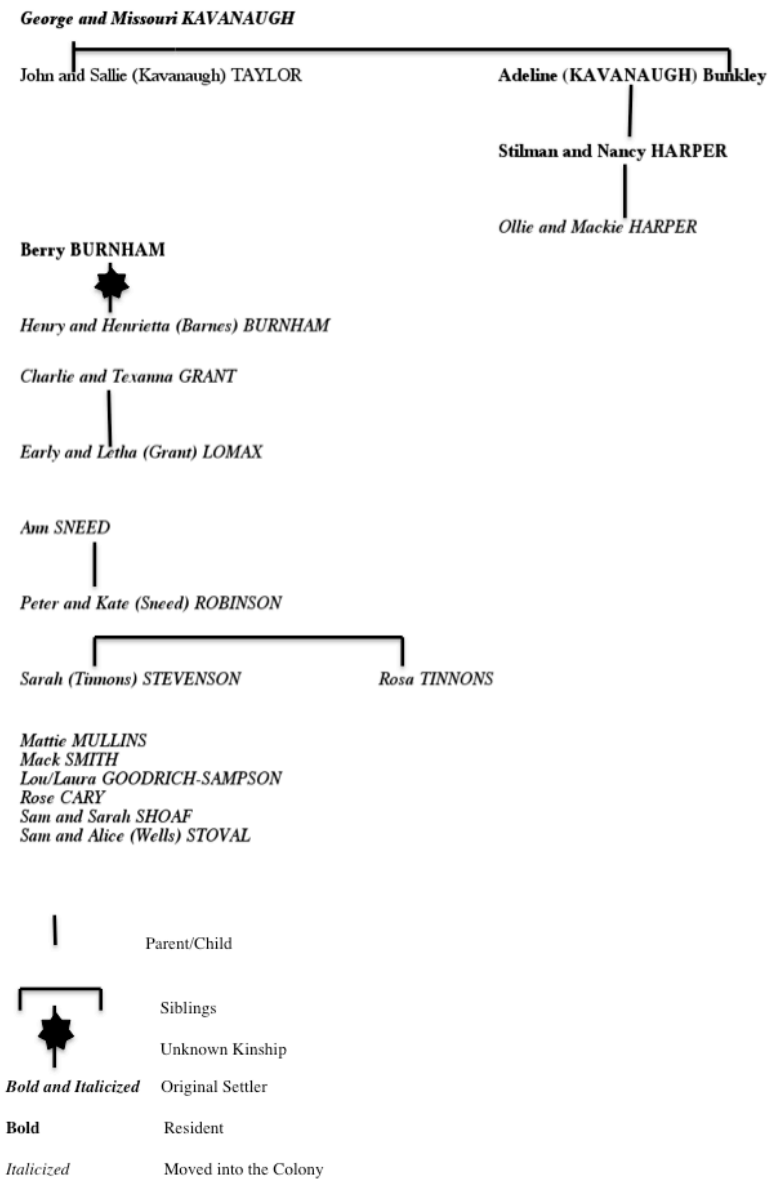


Figure 4.3: Kinship ties between households in 1910.

Kinship Ties in 1920

Just six new households were established in 1920 (Figure 4.4). Moreover, descendants of colony residents headed four of the six new households. Wallace

Sampson was the grandson of Laura Goodrich Sampson, who moved into the colony with him and her other grandchildren in 1910. Harry Kavanaugh was the grandson of George and Missouri Kavanaugh and Elias and Clarisa Bunton. Mary Peoples Anderson was the daughter of Sally Bunton Peoples, who likely shared kinship with other Bunton families in the colony. The two households with no demonstrative kinship ties also had no children within their homes. One was the household of the community pastor, who perhaps was not expected to permanently reside within the community.

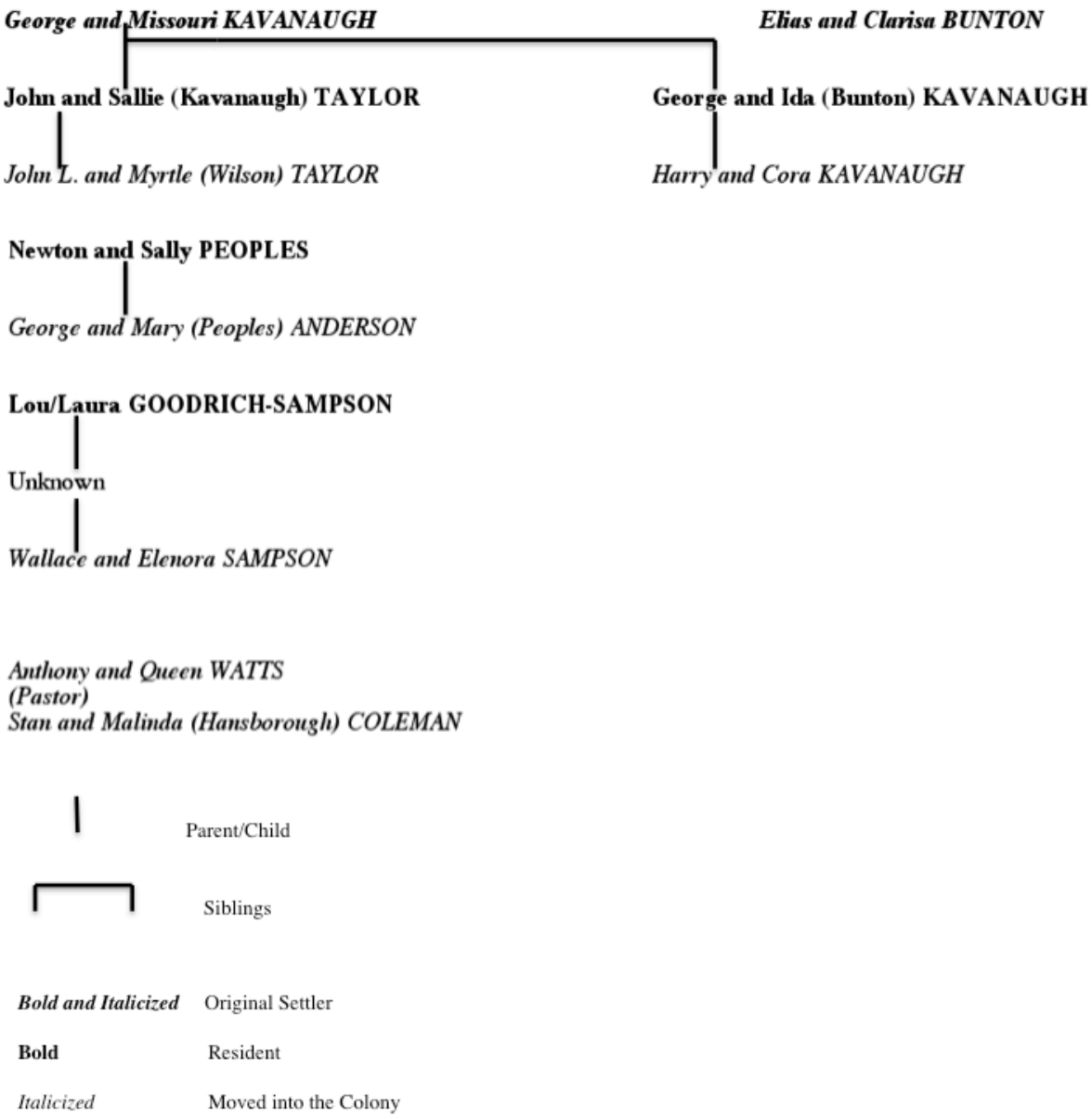


Figure 4.4: Kinship ties between households in 1920.

Summary of Kinship Data

Examining kinship ties between households within the colony demonstrated three scenarios that probably increased the likelihood for successful integration into the colony for those with no family members already residing within the community. The first was

to marry somebody who had kinship ties with colony residents. Interestingly, this took place equally between men and women with no familial connections to the community. Women who chose marital partners from outside of their home communities included both daughters of landowners and tenants, and this may have been a strategic move. In her analysis of rural Texas women, Rebecca Sharpless writes:

For young women from tenant farms, their families' mobility almost ensured that they would not be near acquaintances from childhood. For landowners' daughters, who might live nearer to relatives, marrying out of the community served as a form of exogamy, extending the network into farther reaches of the county (Sharpless 1999:26).

While her comments were specifically referring to Anglo women, it appears that African American women within Antioch Colony followed similar principles as a means to extend and solidify social networks. A second scenario was to move with school-aged children. This enabled families to embed into the community by allowing them to be active in the school community. A third scenario was to move with other relatives, thereby bringing new kinship ties into the community. This occurred most often with households with school-aged children.

Examining kinship ties at the household level illuminated the different strategies new residents employed to embed themselves into the fabric of the community. This is an important consideration because it demonstrated how adults crafted new social relations within the community and extended their kin and social networks through connecting themselves to descendants of colony founders and long-term residents of the community.

CONCLUSION

Demographic data for Antioch Colony highlights that, in addition to children coming of age and establishing new households, the community relied on a steady stream of in-migration to contribute to its population. The fact that migration played an important part in forming the community reinforces the notion that movement and place are relational concepts that should be examined in tandem with one another (Adey 2006). Contrary to popular assumptions about the rural countryside, mobility was a regular feature of everyday life. As Buchanan and Kaye demonstrate, the importance of mobility in shaping Black communities dates back to slavery, and informed the geographical practices of freed people as they rebuilt their communities in the post-emancipation period. Moreover, as demonstrated through the marriage practices of residents who elected to marry outside the community, movement within the countryside was important in extending social networks between people and places (Peil and Bonow 2014; Vassberg 1996).

Many migrants came from nearby areas, indicating that the church and school were important pull factors that attracted people into the community. This is an important distinction because it highlights, once again, how mobility was an everyday feature of rural life. Although rural communities like Antioch Colony are often treated as static (Peil and Bonow 2014:248–249), census data demonstrates that these communities were intimately impacted by migration processes. With migration came a steady stream of new ideas and new connections to others within and outside of the community, which helped the colony grow and face new challenges. Studies of rural African Americans, especially within the context of the Great Migration, fail to appreciate how Blacks continued to be intimately linked to short-distance mobility practices in the post-bellum period. This

renders scholars incapable of linking these patterns of mobility to a broader geographical literacy that influenced future migrations.

In the next chapter I extend my analysis of mobility and place by focusing on the archaeological landscape of Antioch Colony. I discuss how residents continually developed their cultural landscape to allow ease of mobility through space. Additionally, I consider how the archaeological record provides insight into the social and cultural activities related to the Antioch School.

Chapter 5: The Socio-Cultural Landscape of Antioch Colony

Religion and education often formed the cornerstone of rural life in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Field agents tasked with reporting on the rural education of residents in east Texas remarked that "the industrial, social, educational, and religious activities of rural life are so mutually interrelated with and interdependent upon each other that this pamphlet would be incomplete without some mention of the rural church" (White and Davis 1914:44). Places of religious worship and education reflected the resources at the disposal of community members and the connections freed people made between freedom, education, and piety (see Chapter Two). The modes of self help and reciprocal obligations in operation within rural Southern communities required strangers and long-term residents alike to come together in order to fulfill the needs of both community and home (see Chapter Four). In this chapter, I consider the spatial and material record to examine the Black geographies (McKittrick 2006) conceptualized and produced by residents of Antioch Colony. I demonstrate how the creation of places at Antioch Colony was informed by the racial politics at play in Texas (and wider America) and notions of what it meant to be free and Black in the South. I argue that the processes that led to the establishment of the colony and its institutions were principally informed by tenets of self help and mutual obligation taken up by Black Americans as they remade their communities within the context of freedom (see Chapter Two). McKittrick's (2006) position that Black geographies are informed by racialized oppressions is apparent when considering the places produced by Antioch Colony residents.

This chapter also deals with the ways that self help and reciprocal obligation were manifested through the daily, lived practices within and through communal spaces. Through an examination of historical land survey maps, I demonstrate that founders of the colony consciously decided on a community layout that placed shared landmarks—the school, church, and cemetery—in a centrally located place. Due to evolving residential spatial practices, the evidence from historical aerial photos demonstrates how members of the community continued to alter their socio-cultural landscape in a manner that allowed for the free flow of movement through space. Because of the reliance on new migrants to contribute to the growth and stability of the community, and because kinship and residency may have impacted social relations (see Chapter Four), it was imperative that new residents were integrated into the community. The free flow of movement from home to communal centers was one way in which community integration was facilitated and encouraged. Tuan's (1977) theorizing of space, place, and movement were especially helpful here in underscoring the connections between these phenomena, and in defining their roles in community formation (see Chapter One).

The artifacts recovered from the Antioch School and Church site provides another line of evidence for how the community enacted the principles of self help and reciprocal obligation. The presence of desk fragments, domestic refuse, and architectural items represent their attempts to furnish their school in a manner that met educational and cultural standards expected of schoolhouses in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Despite what must have been fairly limited resources, colony residents were clearly invested in their children's education. Though there were few artifacts recovered that speak directly

to efforts to supply the school, I conducted a comparative analysis of the Antioch School assemblage with those from other African American schools in the South in an attempt to ascertain commonalities between rural schools and the impact of site formation processes on the material record.

LANDSCAPE SETTLEMENT AND CHANGE

To physically and spatially inscribe the community onto the landscape, inhabitants built homes, constructed a church and school, forged paths, and buried their dead within its boundaries. These features transformed the community from an indistinguishable space to a named place, a place that came to be known as Antioch Colony. As Tuan (1977) notes, an important aspect of place construction is the production of landmarks, including architecture. These landmarks served multiple purposes: they influenced social relations, broadcast the amenities and opportunities available to colony residents, instilled a sense of pride among them, and nurtured a sense of being in the world (Tuan 1977:102–114). As I argued in Chapter Four, the school and church effectively served to encourage families to relocate into the community. An important part of their integration into the community would've involved how they experienced movement through its spaces to arrive at various points of interest, including its institutions.

As I related in Chapters One, archaeological case studies show how people modified their environ and used space to open up channels of communication between groups(Erickson 2009; Robin 2002) and to mediate social relations as people moved through landscapes (Byrne 2003; Gibson 2007). Similarly, as colony residents traveled to

attend the church and school, check on elderly relatives, swim and fish at Onion Creek, and so on, their mobility was variously constrained and enabled by a range of natural and cultural features. Evidence based on aerial imagery and topographic maps indicate how residents modified the natural environment to accommodate these daily patterns of movements for all within the community. Importantly, the decisions landowners made on where to create footpaths, and whether and where to build fencing were influenced by the practice of reciprocal obligation.

Transforming landscapes was integral for allowing members of the community's institutions to transcend space (Tuan 1977:52). As stated previously, space is connected to notions of freedom and the ability to "transcend" one's present conditions by literally allowing a person to transverse through it to reach new and familiar destinations and to pursue opportunities (Tuan 1977:52). At Antioch, the school and church were central destinations that consistently presented opportunities for socializing, and the betterment of one's self and the community through education and religious instruction. These opportunities for transcendence could not occur without landowners participating in modes of mutual obligation to allow all to transverse through their property. As they traveled through Antioch's spaces, landmarks of destination were important in creating emotional attachments to the community by instilling a sense of shared heritage and permanence. In what follows, I focus on movement as people traveled between their homes and Antioch's institutions.

Previous studies of southern Black communities in the post-emancipation period tend to focus on the history of the community and the lifeways of its members (e.g.

Bethel 1981; Mears 2009; Sitton and Conrad 2005), and the archaeology of community and landownership among freed people (e.g. Barnes 2011; Lee 2014; O'Malley 2002; Palmer 2011; Palus 2011; Steen 2011). Scholars who have studied Black settlements in detail note the importance of footpaths in connecting homes to institutions and other services (e.g. Aiken 1985; Orser 1988), but do not engage with how movement, as evidenced by pathways, and place were relational concepts. The prospect of movement informed the construction of homes, schools, churches, and other such landscape features. As noted by David C. Barrow, Jr., shortly after emancipation, African Americans transformed their plantation homescapes to accommodate daily, more mundane, patterns of movement:

...the location of the houses caused considerable inconvenience, and so it was determined to scatter them. When the hands all worked together, it was desirable to have all of the houses in a central location, but after the division into farms, some of them had to walk more than a mile to reach their work; then, too, they began to 'want more elbow-room,' and so, one by one, they moved their houses on to their farms (1881:832).

Wherever there is a spring, there they settle, generally two or three near together, who have farms hard by. When no spring is convenient, they dig wells, though they greatly prefer the spring. A little bit of a darky, not much taller than the vessel he is carrying, will surprise you by the amount of water he can tote on his head. I have seen a mother and three or four children pulling along uphill from the spring, their vessels diminishing in size as the children do, until the last little fellow would carry hardly more than two or three cupfuls (Barrow, Jr. 1881:832).

The dispersed settlement pattern was a means to ease access to individual farm plots and spring water. The seemingly haphazard placement of housing was actually logical in design—why place homes in a linear pattern when proximity to individual agricultural grounds was more important? Barrow, Jr., notes that residents preferred that their homes and farms were located near waterways, and up to three homes would cluster together

near areas closest to springs (1881:832). Again, this settlement pattern had a level of practicality to it, as it would minimize the distance needed to travel when carrying water. I found evidence that Antioch landowners made similar decisions with respect to their settlement pattern.

In my analysis of the evolution of Antioch Colony's landscape between the years of 1870 and 1958, I paid particular attention to how African American the investment in self help was embedded within the community landscape. First, I examine the settlement during the first 11 years of its founding, from the 1870s to the 1880s. I then consult historic aerial imagery to outline the changes to the Colony in 1937 and the 1950s. The chapter concludes with a discussion about what the changing landscape indicates about daily practices and how landowners participated in acts of reciprocal obligation in ways that benefitted the wider community.

I Thank God I'm Free at Last: The Colony's Early Landscape, 1870-1881

In 1870 there were eight households totaling 60 people; in 1880 the population grew to include 16 households and 88 people (see Chapter Four). It was these families that created the colony's early cultural landscape. Perhaps the earliest landmark to appear was the community's cemetery. The oldest marked burial in the cemetery is of Nellie Smith, whose parents likely were William and Ellen Smith. Nellie Smith died at the age of nine on December 20, 1870. The location of the cemetery does not appear to be tied to the Smith's property and instead was placed at the northernmost extent of the community near the property of George and Rose Champ (Figure 5.1). The fact that the cemetery was unattached to a church was not mere happenstance or a product of the need for a

cemetery preceding the establishment of a permanent church structure. The colony's cemetery appears to follow a trend common among Protestant congregations in Texas. Protestant cemeteries are often located on "unsanctified ground" and are instead located on private property (Jarvis 2009:11; Jordan 1982:14, 33).

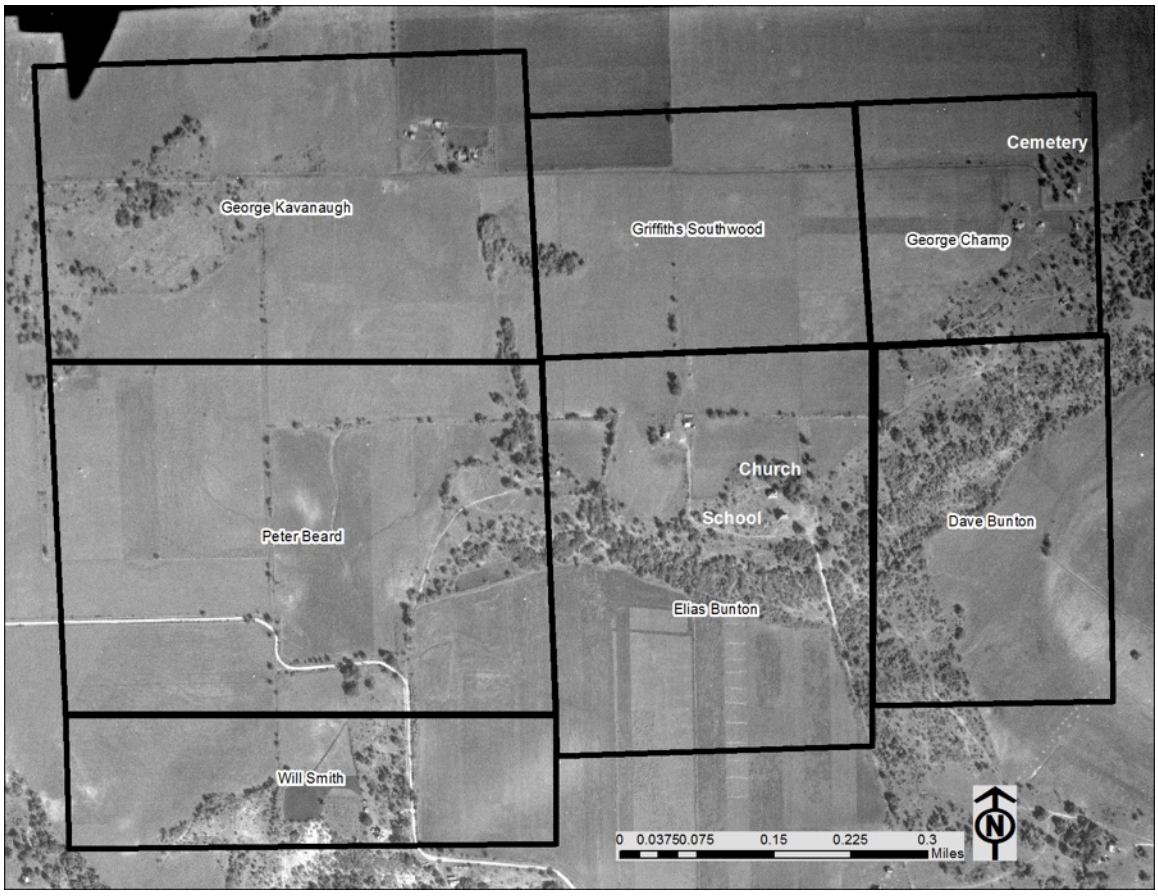


Figure 5.1: Map showing estimated property boundaries of six founding Antioch landowning families; Southwood was a White landowner who likely rented his land to Blacks. Included are the locations of the church, school, and the community's cemetery at the close of 1881. This layout of the community would last more or less for 69 years (map based on one in Boyd et al. 2015:88. Property boundaries estimated from aforementioned map and shapefile created by the Railroad Commission of Texas that provided an interpretation of the original land survey. 1937 aerial photograph courtesy of P2 Energy Solutions).

The cemetery was shortly followed by the construction of the school building, which was a multi-purpose structure used by the church congregation and two fraternal organizations. As discussed in Chapter Two, Elias and Clarisa Bunton donated land for the school in 1874. Besides the influx of residents who no doubt built new homes in the area, another significant change to the landscape in the 1880s was the building of a separate church structure. By 1881 the community more or less settled into a layout that would last for about 69 years (See Figure 5.1).

The location of the school and church appears to have been formally planned in consideration of the central location that the Bunton property possessed with respect to other property owners. The only other option for centrally placed community institutions would have been on Griffiths Southwood's land, a White landowner who likely rented his property to Black families (Boyd et al. 2015:100). The location of the school, and later the church, demonstrates that community members carefully placed these communal centers on the land of Black property owners as a means to ensure that the location would be accessible to all Black families for generations with an expectation that control over the property would remain with Black residents. De facto, and later de jure, segregation meant that Blacks had to build and attend their own schools and churches, preferably on land that they owned, as a means of maintaining control over their religious practices and educational endeavors. Black Texans often looked within their communities to obtain property, construction materials, and supplies for the schools (Chapter Two; Anderson 1988; Smallwood 1978; Span 2009). As such, education and religious centers, created within the context of Black racial struggle, were geographic expressions of Black emancipation and American citizenship (McKittrick 2006).

Scholars of the African American past have long noted that schools and religious institutions often acted as the first spatial representations of freedom (see Chapter One

and Chapter Two). More than anything else, these two buildings were some of the earliest to emerge on the landscape in freedmen's colonies. Even on plantations, where following emancipation many blacks stayed on as tenant farmers, money and resources were pooled to build a church and schoolhouse. More generally, schools often signified the location of a proper, formal community in rural areas (Sitton and Utley 1997:37). Therefore, educational and religious buildings were deeply symbolic of freedom and hope for the residents of Antioch Colony. Not only were they a visible, material representation of their status as freed people, these buildings also served to legitimize the community as a certified locale on the landscape.

Changing Landscape in the 1930s

A necessary step in place making and the attendant creation of transcendent spaces is the ability to get from point A to point B. without the ability to go from "here" to "there," a place cannot be occupied, social connections cannot be made, and resources cannot be shared. Roads and paths allowed people to move through space and to connect people to other people and places. In the 1930s, two main roads opened up these possibilities to the community (Figure 5.2).

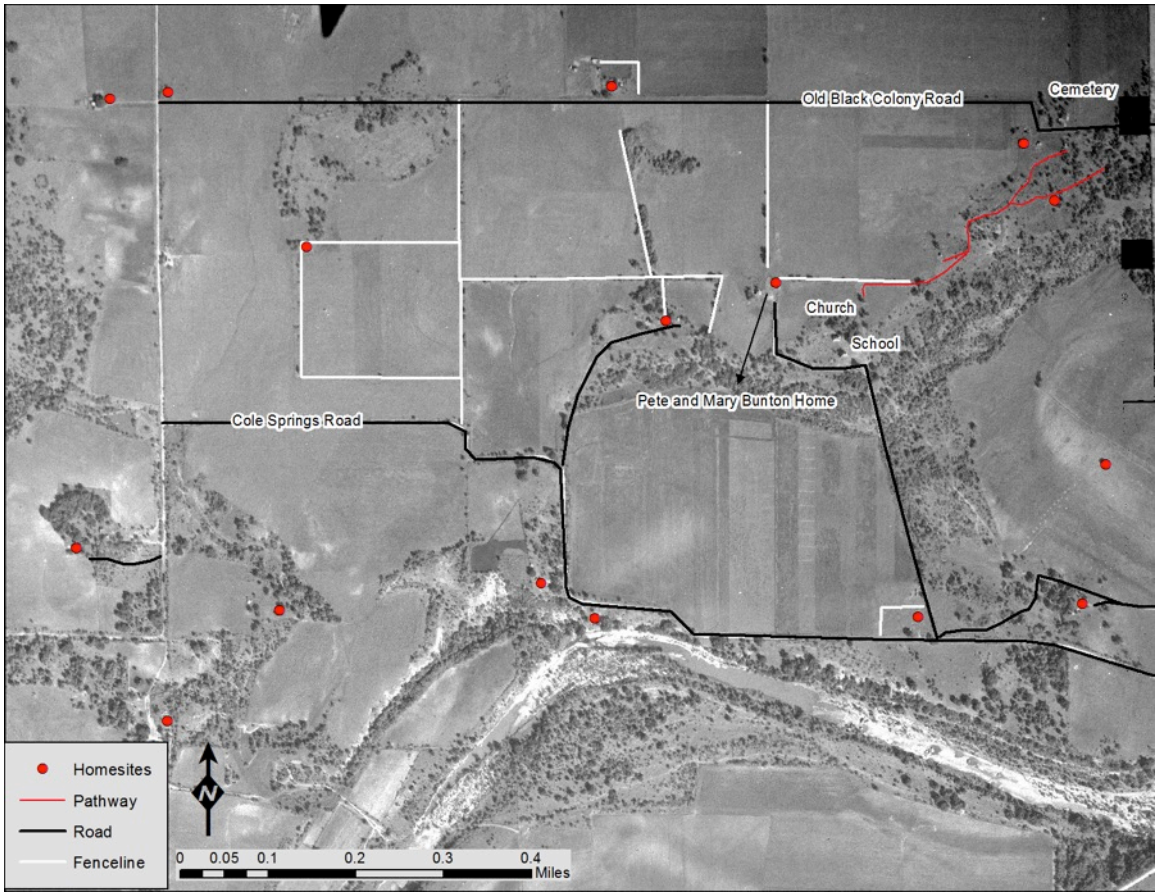


Figure 5.2: Map showing the alterations to the natural landscape made by residents; base map is a 1937 aerial photograph. Aerial photograph courtesy of P2 Energy Solutions.

One major road, Old Black Colony Road, ran east-west, just south of the colony's cemetery, and north along most of Antioch properties. The second road, Cole Springs, bordered the colony to the south. The layout of the roads suggests that this was infrastructure introduced by county planners, and laid out in a manner that considered connections to other formal roads. These roads do not intersect the community at any point, and run instead from the Colony to the nearby town of Buda.

To move through communal space residents had two strategies of creating routes, which likely preceded the construction of the formal roads: producing informal roads, or holloways. Colony residents constructed informal roads that led from their homes to either of the two formally-planned roads (see Figure 5.2). Driven by needs that differed from county planners who thought little of investing in routes for Blacks within their community, colony residents built pathways that connected places and people that consciously drew from the ethics of reciprocal obligation and self help that encouraged community formation. Inhabitants also constructed one long road leading from the school and church to Cold Springs Road (see Figure 5.2). Sharp angles, zigzagging turns, and roundabout routes characterized most roads up until the 1950s, as most country roads were constructed by community members and often were placed where they felt one was necessary (Kite 2010). This method of building appears to have been favored by those in the western half of the colony who were located the furthest from either of the main roads.

The second solution was to create pathways often referred to as holloways by archaeologists. Holloways are sunken linear landforms that emerge on the ground surface as a result of constant use. Oftentimes, "braided holloways"—multiple pathways in one area that are created as pathways fell out of use and new ones were created—will emerge on the landscape (Morriss 2005:84). Braided holloways are evidence of a continued need to reach a particular area, and as such, provide direct evidence for movement through space to reach a place, or landmark. Such landforms formed in the northeastern portion of the community, where they were likely used by up to four households located off of Old Black Colony Road (see Figure 5.2). These pathways go from northeast to southwest, straddling the fence line on the property of Pete and Mary Bunton before disappearing into the yard of the school and church complex.

Fence lines are somewhat easier to identify on aerial photographs. An interesting observation is that birds often eat fruit from hackberry and juniper trees common throughout central Texas. While digesting, the birds commonly rest on fence lines. When they defecate along a fence line, the seeds are left to grow. This phenomenon creates a pattern of trees growing in a linear pattern along current and former fence lines, creating a tell-tale sign of fencing (Jonathan Jarvis, personal communication 2015). Fences often served one of two purposes: to keep animals in, and dissuade people from trespassing. I detected fence lines associated with only five Antioch houses, and these were centrally located within the colony (see Figure 5.2). The majority of houses did not have fence lines bounding their property. Most of these were so far west or south within the colony that a fence, no matter where placed, would not have obstructed movement to communal spaces. Only the fence constructed at one house could've conceivably obstructed movement, and it was located on the property of Pete and Mary Bunton (see Figure 5.2). Pete was the son of Elias and Clarissa Bunton and so inherited their property which was near the church and school (see Chapter 3). People were able to subvert the Bunton fence line, however, in order to access the school and church, as one pathway ran alongside the Bunton's fence.

The discrepancy between bounded and unbounded properties was partially related to the kind of activities each household was engaged in, for example, whether or not they kept livestock or horses. Yet even where fences existed, the homeowners who built them were careful to craft boundaries designed to allow people to walk freely through the landscape, and importantly, to provide access to the church and school. This indicates how property owners acquiesced rigid control over portions of their property to support communal activities.

Moving through Antioch's spaces most often took the form of walking, but there was another mode of transport. A kind of predecessor to the modern taxi and school bus was the horse or mule-drawn wagon, which colony residents often used to attend church service and other social gatherings (Stovall and McCoy 1986:353). Ruth Roberta Fears remembers, "We would walk to school most time but if it's rainy or cold, he'd put us in the wagon and take us down to the school" (Franklin 2012:123). Rivets (n=2) and a harness bolt (n=1) were recovered from the church and school site (Figure 5.3). Although they are in limited quantity, they indicate that residents traveled by horse or mule (Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.3: Rivet and bolts recovered at the site.

Figure 5.4: African Americans Arriving at Church by horse-drawn wagon, 1899 or 1900, photographed by W.E.B. Dubois. Courtesy of the Collections of the Library of Congress.

Archaeological Remains of the First Church and School

Sometime in the 1940s, the school and church were relocated to an area deemed more accessible. Due to their rather insular location within the heart of the community, members began to experience increased difficulty in traversing space to reach the church and school (Franklin 2012:300). The new locations of the church and school placed these

institutions right off of Old Black Colony Road (Figure 5.5), although they were no longer adjacent to one another. This may have been necessary as colony residents began to purchase cars and trucks for transport, as the only two reliable roads for motorized vehicles included Old Black Colony. It is also likely that the decades-old church and school buildings were not structurally sound after consistent use and weathering. In fact, the new school was built using native limestone and brick.

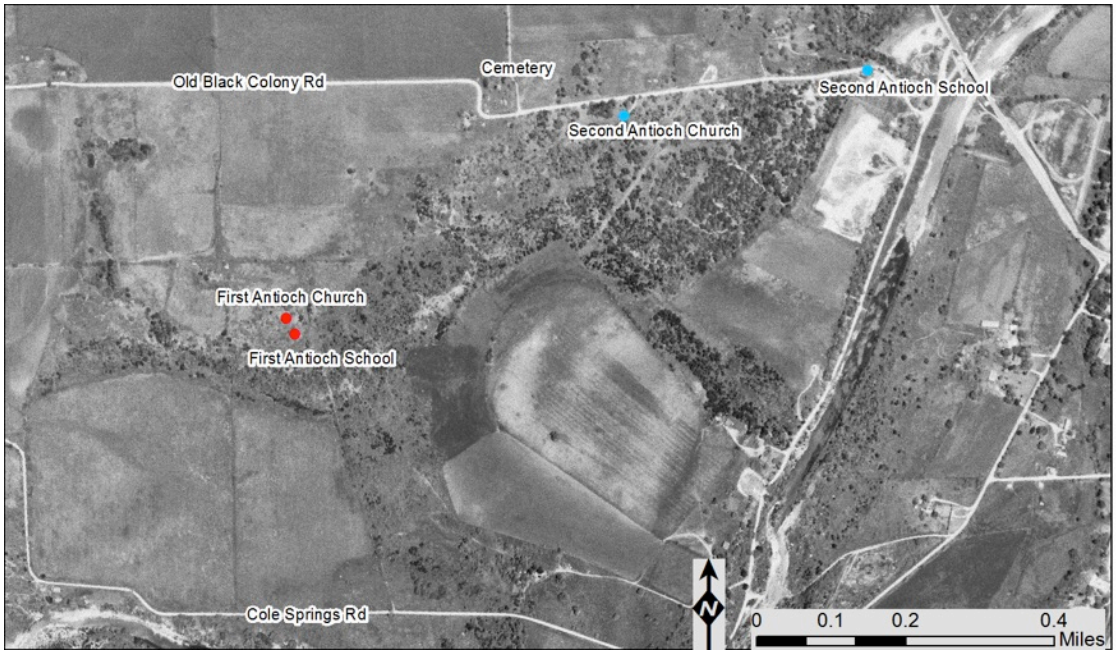


Figure 5.5: Map showing the new locations of the school and church with respect to their former locations. Base photograph taken May 1958. Aerial photography courtesy of U.S. Geological Survey (www.usgs.gov).

According to long-time resident Frank Wilson, once the decision was made to build a new church and school, the old structures were taken apart and the usable wood and other items were sold for salvage. This process was evident in the archaeological remains left at the site. The only tell-tale signs of the site's former structures were the

school's limestone walkway, which was left relatively intact, the wooden posts that the school once stood upon, brick scatters, and other architectural debris.

Compared to the architectural assemblages from the domestic sites excavated, the one for the church and school site is relatively small. Again, usable materials were sold as salvage or re-used at the new church and school. Most of the furnishings and educational materials likely made their way to the new church and school. Nails and window glass dominate the assemblage, and are the kinds of items that typically cannot be recycled (Table 5.1).

Artifact Type	Count	Percentage
Screw	1	0.1%
Spiral Shank Nail	1	0.1%
Fencing Staple	1	0.1%
Fencing Wire	1	0.1%
Door Parts	2	0.2%
Wood	3	0.3%
Wire Brad	12	1.4%
Wire Nail	181	20.9%
Cut Nail	279	32.2%
Window Glass	385	44.5%
Total	866	100.0%

Table 5.1: Structural materials recovered at the site.

Remarks

One aspect of reciprocal obligation within rural communities was allowing neighbors to cross properties, whether fence lines were present or not. Creating informal roads and pathways were a solution to a predicament that landowners and non-landowners shared: how do we, as community residents dependent upon one another, facilitate access through spaces and to communal places? The western and eastern halves

of the colony had two different solutions to accomplish this goal. The western portion of the community built formal roads while the eastern portion relied on pathways. In this regard, one can see how the ability to move freely across the landscape impacted the formation of place. The repetitive acts of mobility practiced by colony residents to reach one another's homes and the church and school served to root people to places as they formed emotional attachments to the land and its institutions. Barrow, Jr.'s, (1881) remarks on the evolution of the plantation landscape in the post-bellum period also reinforces this point. Roads, pathways, and even fence lines were constructed throughout Antioch Colony to provide ease of access between points of interest, and ultimately allowed newcomers to the community to enmesh themselves into the fabric of the community by establishing social relations with others within and outside of the colony. The maintenance of these social relations hinged largely upon landowners in meeting their community obligations to ensure equal access across their land.

In the next section I focus on the artifact assemblage of the school and church site. The artifacts left behind at the site provide a fine-scale analysis of actions that occurred within the space of the church and school. Similar to the role of pathways for providing freedom to move through the colony's spaces, and as an expression of reciprocal obligation, the school and church, as meaningful places and spaces, nurtured the freedom to enforce and enact actions of self help and reciprocal obligation. These actions were enculturated in all members of the community through education and religious worship, and were collectively believed to better Black life with the hopes of dismantling anti-Black racism.

GLIMPSES INTO EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE

In this section I turn my analysis of the relationship between place and movement to the site of the colony's school and church. I continue to engage with Tuan's definition

of space—the ability to transcend one's present conditions to access new opportunities (Tuan 1977:52). I use artifacts recovered through excavation to interpret how people moved through space at the communal site to demonstrate that the school and church provided members with the freedom to socially transmit and reinforce the belief in, and practices of, self help and reciprocal obligation. These behaviors were cultural expressions of collective ways to navigate racism, where Blacks had unequal access to resources. A brief discussion of previous archaeological studies of other school and church sites follows as a means to situate this project within the existing body of research on institutions.

There are two observations that stand out with respect to the existing body of literature: 1) there are few published archaeological studies of nineteenth- and twentieth-century U.S. schools and Christian churches, and 2) assemblages associated with these sites typically have few objects that relate to educational or religious practices, with architectural debris dominating the assemblages. For example, delving into the gray literature, James G. Gibb and April M. Beisaw (2000) provide a review of 19 schools in four northeastern states. In their review, the authors conclude that school sites generally share these traits: few artifacts relating to educational activities, low quantities of domestic artifacts, and high quantities of architectural remains (Gibb and Beisaw 2000:122, 124–125). Building on this article, Beisaw (2009) notes that the overall low artifact frequency typical of school sites requires that archaeologists pay special attention to site formation processes and their impacts on the archaeological record. Indeed, as I previously discussed, the relatively small assemblage associated with Antioch's church

and school was largely due to one cultural formation process: re-use of usable building materials and furnishings, which were either sold off, or made their way to the new church and school.

In her analysis of a rural school in Indiana, Deborah L. Rotman argues that material culture from school sites should be interpreted and understood as representations of deliberate actions leading to their accidental loss (2009:73). Expanding further, Rotman draws on the narrow purpose of the school as an educational facility that also hosted community activities throughout a given year to argue that all objects were intentionally brought to the site for a particular purpose. I attempt to employ Rotman's approach further below in considering certain artifacts recovered from Antioch.

Published research on church sites in the United States is as sparse as that for schools. The few studies published have focused on the church as a communal and political space (e.g. Beaudry and Berkland 2007; Cabak et al. 1995). Dissertations on the subject have focused on how excavations of religious sites provided pathways for public outreach and community engagement with archaeological investigations (Jones 2010; Skipper 2010). Alexandra Jones' findings are particularly relevant for this study. Jones writes that the limited number of artifacts recovered at the Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church reveals that the archaeological record, too, is prone to silencing aspects of the past, a sentiment I share (Jones 2010:3). Like at Antioch Colony, the material record at Gibson Grove was dominated by architectural refuse: nails, glass, and brick (Jones 2010:3, 30).

The artifact assemblage for the school and church limited what kinds of questions the artifacts could address, since: 1) there were no artifacts explicitly tied to religious practice at the site, 2) the artifact assemblage is a small sample size for the site, and 3) it is unclear, for most of the artifacts, whether they were associated with practices at the church or school. Because of this, my analysis and interpretation focuses on the Antioch School and Black education in general.

I begin the discussion of the material record with a focus on how artifacts recovered can be used to reconstruct past actions that took place at the school site (Rotman 2009). I argue that certain artifacts, desk parts and writing implements, along with archival sources, reveal how members of the community pooled their resources, as required by the tenets of self help and reciprocal obligation, to contribute to education. The second half of this section provides comparisons with two other archaeological projects on African American schoolhouses in the rural South. The comparisons demonstrate that, typical of school sites in general, the assemblages associated with rural Black schools are likely to be dominated by structural artifacts, followed by domestic artifacts, and with very little in the way of artifacts associated with education (Gibb and Beisaw 2000). The presence of even a few desk fragments, or a blackboard, may be the only material signs that allow one to distinguish between a domestic and school site. One point of difference between the Antioch school and the other African American schools discussed below is the fact that no toys were recovered at the Antioch School. This may partially be due to the fact that less than ten percent of the site was excavated, and we have only a sample of recoverable artifacts. However, I argue that while there was a lack

of mass-produced toys, we know from the oral histories that colony kids created toys out of everyday objects or engaged in play that did not require objects (hide-and-seek, chasing one another, etc.). I included comparisons between African American school sites since the subject continues to be under-studied in archaeology despite the significant role that education played in Black communities during segregation. I hoped that bringing various data sets together and discussing the results might serve as a springboard for future studies in this area, and because the assemblage from Antioch limited what I could say specifically about schooling practices within the colony.

Self Help and the Antioch School: Meeting Educational Standards

While the artifact assemblage from the site was small, the residents of Antioch Colony left clues that provide glimpses into their investment in education. One partial desk fragment was recovered, along with metal decorative parts believed to be fragments from a school desk (Figure 5.6).

Figure 5.6: Desk fragments recovered at the site.

According to archival records (Hays County Superintendent Records, Annual Reports), the Antioch School was furnished solely with double desks throughout much of its history (Table 5.2). Educators had the option of providing single desks, double or dual desks, or recitation benches. Where provided, schools in Hays County, both Black and White, were primarily furnished with dual desks. However, in the early 1900s, many African American schools in the county were equipped with benches in lieu of desks, perhaps because benches were cheaper (see Table 5.2). The Antioch School, with its desk furniture, was in line with the educational standards of the county. The funding provided to Antioch and other area schools from state and local funds indicate that it was commonplace for Black schools to operate with insufficient funds. Surplus value, calculated from the amount of money awarded to each school from state and local funds

subtracted by the total amount paid to teachers, indicates that Antioch Colony operated at a deficit during most school years (see Table 5.2). In fact, it was only during the year of 1897-1898 when Antioch Colony enjoyed a surplus of funds exceeding 30 dollars. Chronic underfunding of rural schools, but especially rural African American schools, was a persistent challenge for educators and parents alike. Historian James D. Anderson notes that by the early 1900s, underfunding of Black schools was a common tactic employed by White authorities as a means to maintain racial dominance, since ensuring that Black children had less resources reinforced the racial hierarchy (1988:154). As I mentioned in Chapter Two, W.E.B. Dubois remarked that African American schools in Texas were not immune to educational disparities in the realm of school funding, and these disparities often required Black citizens to make up the difference in order to adequately supply their schoolhouses (Du Bois and Dill 1911:33). To counter this unequal treatment, and to reassert feelings of Black humanity and homeplace within the school, Black parents and educators often took it upon themselves to sufficiently supply their schoolhouses. This was a significant form of self help and reciprocal obligation: self-motivation to take responsibility for their children's schooling despite the hardships this undoubtedly meant in financial terms, and contributing resources and support without the expectation that a good turn in kind was immediately forthcoming. Instead, this was understood to be a long-term investment that ensured that colony children, in general, would have better opportunities. The return was also in keeping the schoolhouse operating and ensuring the stability of the colony.

Name of School	Total Number of Students	Single Desks	Double Desks	Rooms with benches	Total Value of School Property and Furniture	Surplus from State and County Funds
			1896 to 1897			
Durham	16	1	0	1	115	9.5
Rock Ridge	35	1	13	0	300	10
Longview	28	0	0	1	250	-107
Pleasant Hill	97	8	28	0	435	-32
Antioch	***45***	***0***	***31***	***0***	***540***	***38***
Blanco	21	0	0	1	225	306
Burleson	46	0	0	1	115	-171
Patterson	40	0	0	1	165	-90
			1897 to 1898			
Durham	10	0	0	1	175	0
Rockridge	32	0	6	0	230	8.4
Longview	23	0	0	1	175	-30
Pleasant Hill	100	28	2	1	400	325.05
Antioch	***54***	***0***	***28***	***0***	***200***	***207.3***
Burleson	28	0	0	1	175	NA
Blanco	18	0	0	1	170	483.75
Thomas	30	0	0	1	115	NA
			1898 to 1899			
Durham	26	0	25	1	120	0
Rock Ridge	30	0	24	1	300	2.75
Kyle	22	0	14	1	350	-29.4
Pleasant Hill	102	0	56	2	450	1
Antioch	***36***	***0***	***56***	***1***	***400***	***0***
Burleson	44	0	20	1	250	254
Blanco	30	0	--	1	350	-30
Rylander	8	0	--	1	300	-130

-- = No value entered

Table 5.2: Figures for African American schools in Hays County. Surplus values calculated by author. Source: Hays County Superintendents Reports—Annual Reports, Texas State Department of Education. Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission.

Name of School	Total Number of Students	Single Desks	Double Desks	Rooms with benches	Total Value of School Property and Furniture	Surplus from State and County Funds
			1899 to 1900			
Durham	12	--	--	1	175	9.25
Rock Ridge	39	--	15	--	300	0
--	31	--	--	1	275	-2.25
McGovern	6	--	--	1	225	0
Pleasant Hill	122	--	30	--	700	16.25
Antioch	***33***	***--***	***20***	***--***	***400***	***1.75***
McKie	20	--	--	1	275	184.25
McKie	57	--	--	1	175	NA
Rylander	24	--	--	1	175	0
			1903 to 1904			
Durham	18	--		1	325	0
Rock Ridge	21	--	8	--	400	0
Franklin	27	--	20	--	350	0
Morten	26	--	--	1	375	0
--	47	--	20	--	350	0
Pleasant Hill	101	10	28	1	575	0
Antioch	***37***	***--***	***22***	***1***	***525***	***0***
Rylander	34	--	--	1	275	0
Burleson	43	--	--	1	275	0
Blanco	20	--	--	1	350	0

-- = No value entered

Table 5.2 continued

Name of School	Total Number of Students	Single Desks	Double Desks	Rooms with benches	Total Value of School Property and Furniture	Surplus from State and County Funds
			1904 to 1905			
Stringtown	10	--	--	1	170	0
High Prairie	17	--	12	--	300	-5.5
Riverside	31	--	--	1	270	-4.5
Kyle	17	--	--	1	210	0
Fairview	45	--	--	1	320	0
Salem	11	--	--	1	110	23.5
Pleasant Hill	98	--	50	--	600	12.35
Antioch	***36***	***--***	***30***	***--***	***480***	***1.15***
McKie	46	--	--	1	325	211.5
McKie	24	--	--	1	220	NA
Rylander	31	--	--	1	220	83.5
			1907 to 1908			
Stringtown	20	--	--	1	200	1.5
High Prairie	18	1	6	--	200	18.35
Riverside	43	--	--	1	200	32.7
Kyle	28	--	--	1	200	288
Fairview	25	--	--	1	227.5	3
Burleson	22	--	2	--	200	0
Pleasant Hill	94	--	30	--	301.75	4
Antioch	***45***	***--***	***10***	***--***	***250***	***0***
McKie	33	2	--	1	525	24.9
Rylander	32	--	--	1	250	32.4

-- = No value entered

Table 5.2 continued

In addition to the desk fragments, there were wire brads recovered at the site. Wire brads are typically used to affix trim or molding to walls or floors, and could also be used to hang pictures on walls. Interior decoration in the form of educational visuals appears to have been an important element of classroom pedagogy. E.E. Davis, researcher for the University of Texas, noted in his survey of 28 rural schoolrooms in Travis County, that only a total of 12 pictures from world-renowned artists decorated the walls, while cheaply reproduced photographs and calendars comprised most schoolhouse visuals (Davis 1916:25–27). This was unacceptable to him and, for Davis, provided another example of the inferior quality of rural education. The photo below of Annie Davis School provides an idea of how classrooms, especially for African Americans, may have been decorated with print media (Figure 5.6). The presence of wire brads at the site suggests that educational materials were likely affixed on the walls of the classroom.

Figure 5.6: An important aspect of educational practice was to adorn a schoolhouse with educational materials for instructing children. Of note in this photo of an African American classroom is the décor, including a map of the United States, a calendar, a math chart, and various agricultural photos. African American children and their teacher studying corn and cotton, Annie Davis School, near Tuskegee, Alabama, 1902, photographed by Francis Benjamin Johnston. Courtesy of the Collections of the Library of Congress.

Following architectural remains, domestic items were the second largest category of artifacts recovered at the site (Table 5.3). Included in this category are glass tumblers, tin cans, jar and bottle glass, and a metal lid to a butter churn (Figure 5.7). I tentatively propose that these were pedagogical materials used for hands-on instruction in teaching children how to efficiently complete household chores.

Artifact Type	Count	Percentage	MNI
Jug	1	0.19%	1
Soda Bottle	1	0.19%	1
Wax Seal Bottle Closure	1	0.19%	1
Butter Churn	1	0.19%	1
Ring Hook	1	0.19%	1
Canning Jar	3	0.57%	1
Bowl	6	1.15%	2
Crown Cap	6	1.15%	6
Soda Can	7	1.34%	1
Tumbler	20	3.83%	5
Jar or Bottle Glass	76	14.56%	34
Lamp Glass	98	18.77%	13
Tin Can	135	25.86%	5
Unidentifiable	166	31.80%	NA
Total	522	100.00%	--

Table 5.3: Domestic artifacts recovered at the church and school site.

As discussed in Chapter Two, industrial education for all schoolchildren was popular in the early twentieth century, and took on an activist slant for African Americans. Booker T. Washington argued that a well-rounded education in industrial, mental, and moral training was necessary for the future success of the race:

How often have I been discouraged as I have gone through the South, and into the homes of the people of my race, and have found women who could converse intelligently upon abstruse subjects, and yet could not tell how to improve the condition of the poorly served bread and meat which they and their families were eating three times a day. It is discouraging to find a girl who can tell you the geographical location of any country on the globe and who does not know where to place the dishes upon a common dinner table. It is discouraging to find a woman who knows much about theoretical chemistry, and who cannot properly wash and iron a shirt (Washington 1903:15–16).

Washington's intent was to produce a class of skilled workers prepared and qualified for a wide range of work available in their home communities. His opinion carried weight not only because he was a well-respected educator in the Black community, but also because he couched his opinions in a manner that considered the realities faced by rural Black southerners. His message was one familiar to African Americans, as it was a contemporary take on the philosophy of self help taken up by emancipated men and women after slavery. Washington's opinion on the makeup of an educated Black citizen was also gendered. His expectations for well-rounded African American women was principally based on one who could cook, clean, and was well educated in other facets of domesticity. Moreover, all levels of food production, in general, were typically carried out by members of a farming household as a means to avoid purchasing goods on credit or facing the prospect of buying rotten food in local stores (Sharpless 1999:110–111). Household food production provided women with opportunities to help their families save money, so there was an expectation that girls and young women would learn these skills (Sharpless 1999:139–142). Domestic work, therefore, was an integral part of the household economy (Franklin 2012; Franklin 2015).

Figure 5.7: Lid to Dazey Butter Churn recovered at the site.

Ruth Roberta Harper Fears remembers how students were taught to cook at the Antioch School:

Oh, yeah, it was a beautiful school. And we had a kitchen in it, and that's where they start learning us how to cook, so many cook like maybe they'd be our time, we'd cook breakfast for kids in school like that (Franklin 2012:128).

In the preceding discussion I attempted to demonstrate how meaningful interpretations can be based on a small collection of artifacts when considered in conjunction with contemporaneous historical documents, and contextualized within Black education practices during the Jim Crow era. The material record at Antioch Colony's school and church site, although sparse, reflects the attempts made by students, parents, parishioners, and educators at maintaining the dignity and reciprocal obligation owed to the greater community. In this regard, activities that occurred at the church and school site emphasize the importance of such institutions in structuring and influencing

the behaviors of its members, at least while they were on sanctified and educational grounds.

Next, I turn to data comparisons between Antioch Colony and other school sites in the South.

COMPARING ANTIOCH COLONY TO OTHER RURAL BLACK SCHOOLS

I compared the assemblage at the Antioch School and church site to two rural Black school sites in the South (Table 5.4). I focused on school sites since I could not locate useable data on Black church sites in the rural South. Because I can confirm that the assemblage recovered at Antioch Colony at least in part relates to the school, I feel that the comparisons to solely African American school sites are justified. Further, these sites occupy the same time span, providing archaeological evidence for Black education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In 2003 a team of archaeologists volunteered to survey two African American schools in Bryan, Brazos County, Texas (41BZ152; see Table 5.4). The Bryan School for the Colored was established in 1885 and stood in the area until it was burned down in 1914 (Carlson 2006:2). Sometime between the years of 1914 and 1915 a second school, Washington Elementary, was built to replace the Bryan School and remained until that structure, too, burned down in 1971 (Carlson 2006:2). For the duration of this discussion, when referring to the two schools together, the site trinomial of 41BZ152 will be used. In 2007, members of the Louisiana State University archaeological field school excavated the Morganza Elementary School in Morganza, Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana (see Table 5.4). Morganza Elementary was built in 1919 and abandoned in the 1970s due to desegregation efforts in the region (Struchtemeyer 2008:2).

School Name	Year Established	Year Abandoned	Reason Abandoned	Structure Type	Post Abandonment History
Antioch School	1876	1940s	Relocated	Two story	Abandoned
Bryan School for the Colored	1885	1914	Fire	Two story	Rebuilt (Washington Elementary)
Washington Elementary	1914-1915	1971	Fire	--	Rebuilt
Morganza Elementary	1919	1970s	Desegregation	Three room	Abandoned

Table 5.4: Site histories for the four African American schools discussed in this section.

These schools are interesting for comparison because they challenge assumptions of Black institutions in one key way: they are rather large structures than one would expect for rural Black schoolhouses. Like with the Antioch School, the Bryan School for the Colored was a two-story structure (Carlson 2006:6), while Morganza Elementary was a three-room structure (Struchtemeyer 2008:91). While the Antioch Colony schoolhouse can be emblematic of the importance of Black landownership in the creation of local educational institutions, it can also be understood within the framework of how African Americans adopted forms of self help, a tradition practiced during slavery, to address new situations faced following freedom. Black Americans were able to allocate their resources—monetary, labor, and knowledge based—to construct educational facilities despite chronic underfunding. Further, as I touched upon in Chapter Two, in rural areas educational facilities often served multiple purposes, and as such, required a design that could accommodate different purposes. In the future, it would be worthwhile to compare the assemblages and architecture to rural White schools in the South to further consider

how Blacks' material practices worked to circumscribe structural racism within the context of education.

Data Comparisons

For this study, I compared the data for six artifact groups: architectural, domestic, healthcare, hygiene and grooming, institutional, and leisure and play (Table 5.5). These comparisons indicate that school data from rural Black communities mirrors the trend noticed by Gibb and Beisaw (2000), mentioned at the beginning of this section. Architectural remains, followed by domestic artifacts, dominate the assemblages across the three sites, while little in the way of institutional items or toys were recovered.

Artifact Group	Antioch Colony School and Church	% Antioch Colony	41BZ152	% 41BZ152	Morganza Elementary	% Morganza Elementary
Architectural	866	61.95%	459	62.88%	1559	78.18%
Domestic	522	37.34%	267	36.58%	83*	4.16%
Healthcare	1	0.07%	1	0.14%	11	0.55%
Hygiene and Grooming	1	0.07%	1	0.14%	6	0.30%
Institutional	8	0.57%	0	0.00%	273	13.69%
Leisure and Play	0	0.00%	2	0.27%	62	3.11%
Total	1398	100.00%	730	100.00%	1994	100.00%

**reflects only the items discussed in the body of thesis as it was unclear how many domestic items in total were excavated.*

Table 5.5: Selected items recovered at each site by artifact group.

While the site assemblages were, in general, similar to one another, some interesting differences emerged when I considered those artifacts recovered in the smallest quantities by artifact category (Table 5.6).

Artifact Category	Antioch Colony School and Church	% (Antioch School and Church)	41BZ152	% (41BZ152)	Morganza Elementary School	% (Morganza Elementary School)
Ceramics	26	72.22%	71	94.67%	9	2.44%
Personal	1	2.78%	1	1.33%	6	1.63%
Medicinal	1	2.78%	1	1.33%	11	2.98%
Schooling	8	22.22%	0	0.00%	273	73.98%
Toys	0	0.00%	2	2.67%	70	18.97%
Total	36	100.00%	75	100.00%	369	100.00%

Table 5.6: Selected artifacts recovered from the three sites by category.

The biggest difference between the three sites is the absence of toys from the Antioch School, as previously discussed. This may reflect differences in excavation strategies. Excavators of both Morganza Elementary and site 41BZ152 appear to have sampled areas within and immediately surrounding the school structure whereas at Antioch Colony, units were excavated in a limited number in an area between the school and church. In thinking about child's play at school, areas immediately in front or behind the school structure may be the most likely areas, with areas underneath a structure being a third area to consider, as small toys may have fallen through floorboards during indoor play.

The dearth of toy artifacts recovered at the Antioch School site might also be due to the fact that child's play included creating toys out of everyday objects. Former resident Samuel Leslie Harper, Sr.'s vivid memories of play reflects this:

I remember getting a little fire truck. Maybe it was like in '50 or something with a little siren and a little lights. That's about the only really toy that I can think of. The rest of the stuff we just made things, you know, like took a bucket, a gallon bucket, a serve bucket, you know, after all the stuff was gone. We'd fill it up full of dirt, punch some holes in it, and put a clothes hanger, and we'd pull it, and make it pop a wheelie and all kinds of stuff, you know? Other than rolling tires, chasing cows, riding cows, and just country stuff, you know? That's—most of the playing we'd go to the neighbors and we just played. Run around, maybe hide and go seek, roll tires, or just climb trees. Just kid stuff. (Franklin 2012: 165).

A further exchange between interviewer Dr. Maria Franklin and interviewee Winnie Martha Moyer:

MF: Now, did your grandmother tell you much about her life growing up?
WM: Yeah, she used to tell us how much fun they had, her and the kids, and how they made they toys out of sticks and different stuff like that, things they wanted to play with.
MF: They made their own toys?
WM: Uh-huh [yes]. And how they learned to count with grains of corn at home… (Franklin 2012: 248).

Teachers also probably discouraged students from bringing toys to school. Where toys are found at school sites, it may also be due to using these areas for recreational purposes after school or on the weekends.

Another aspect where assemblages differ is with the institutional category. Both the Antioch School and Morganza Elementary assemblages include items that relate to schooling while 41BZ152 does not. Archaeologists working at Morganza Elementary recovered pencil fragments (lead, erasers, metal casings, and wooden shafts), an inkwell, fountain pen, and desk fragments (Struchtemeyer 2008:50–52). Pencil, slate, desk

fragments, and an inkwell bottle were all recovered at Antioch Colony. Outside of the presence of these items, the artifacts found at the Antioch School and Morganza Elementary are not dissimilar from those of domestic sites.

The absence of artifacts distinctly related to schools does not necessarily preclude the possibility that a school was once present at a site. Again: thus far, school site assemblages indicate that few education-related finds may be recovered. Site formation processes and excavation strategies certainly need to be considered before drawing conclusions. The 41BZ152 site survey occurred in an area between a basketball court and playground. Backhoe trenching in two separate areas reached heavily disturbed deposits (Carlson 2006:8,10). This likely and negatively impacted the survivability of institutional artifacts related to both school at the site. Importantly, both schools burned down.

Discussion

Site comparisons between these four rural African American schools echo what others have concluded to be true for school sites in general: that the assemblages are largely dictated by a high presence of architectural and domestic materials while items that can be categorized as educational or leisure and play are likely to be recovered in rather low quantities. Moreover, the comparisons support the observation that the overall low artifact counts associated with day schools represent the narrow purposes that such structures usually served (Rotman 2009). Students probably carried little with them to class since the items they needed likely stayed at school. The use of schools for lodge meetings or other social activities may only be evident with respect to the larger-than-expected size of Black school buildings. Given this, a greater reliance on the archival

record and understanding of a site's occupational history are necessary to derive meaning from the artifacts directly relating to past school activity.

CONCLUSION

The space of the school and church provided residents freedom of movement and freedom of expression. Movement relied on landowners' willingness to acquiesce some control over their land so that others could easily move through space to reach these social centers. As a matter of reciprocal obligation, farmers located along the pathway of the school and church built fence lines that did not impede a traveller's movement. Those travelling by foot or wagon created holloways readily identified on aerial images, as they altered the landscape moving to and from their neighbors' homes, and the church and school. As landmarks that signified and cultivated emotional attachments to the colony, the church and school remained integral to community formation. Self help and reciprocal obligation led to institution building within the colony, and in turn, these institutions served to socialize existing and new residents into the ethics of extending support and goodwill to one another. Thus, place making, spatial practices, and mobility worked in tandem with one another to cement social relations, keep channels of communication open, and to encourage community formation and growth. The community continued to evolve with ease of movement remaining at the forefront of place making well into the 1940s and 1950s, when members once again altered the landscape by relocating the school and church so that freedom of movement would be maintained.

The tenets of self help were clearly evident in the investment colony residents made in the Antioch School. Desk fragments and wire brads provide insight into the

furnishing of the schoolhouse, suggesting that educators and parents were able to meet acceptable schoolhouse standards of the time. The school is emblematic of both the strides in Black education following emancipation and the strife Black students, parents, and educators had to endure under segregation. Figures for African American schools in Hays County (see Table 5.2) indicate that educators at the colony school likely had to seek donations from the wider community in order to adequately supply the building with equipment. Donating to the school was not only a means to provide teachers and students with adequate tools, it was also a means to shield their children from the harsh racial practices that imposed unequal access to resources. To reassert a sense of humanity and dignity, adults ensured that their children received the best education that they could provide.

Freedom of expression allowed educators to foster dignity among their students through industrial education. Domestic items recovered at the site indicate that industrial education was supported at the school, with the belief that self help through manual labor would allow young women, in particular, to contribute to their household by saving money on store-bought goods, and perhaps through an ability to produce quality goods that could be sold to consumers.

Comparisons between Antioch Colony and two additional school sites in the South reinforce what others have found to be true of school sites in general: few artifacts related to education are likely to be found at these sites. This is likely due to site formation processes and excavation strategies. Morganza Elementary, which had the highest number of artifacts, was abandoned in 1971 due to desegregation efforts in

eastern Louisiana. Researchers at this site extensively excavated the area, and the larger artifact assemblage may be, at least in part, due to their more intensive data recovery effort. In contrast, the Antioch School was abandoned in the 1940s and the usable furnishings and architectural materials were sold as salvage or re-used at the new school and church. Moreover, only 20 1x1m units were excavated at the site. With respect to the Bryan School for the Colored, once it burned down another school, Washington Elementary, was rebuilt on the same site in 1914. When Washington Elementary was destroyed in a fire, it was rebuilt at the same location in 1971. The two fires and process of rebuilding at the same site negatively impacted the archaeological record, which in turn helps to explain why no educational items were recovered at that particular site. Moreover, due to its extensive use, little more than surveying the area could be accomplished.

It is hoped that this text-aided analysis of the material record at the church and school site demonstrates the potential for insights into Black life that can be gleaned from school sites. By interpreting the artifacts recovered within the context of self help and the practice of reciprocal obligation, a narrative of community solidarity through support of education was possible.

As Katherine McKittrick argues, geographies produced by Black Americans are emblematic of the racialized, classed, and gendered modes of oppression experienced (2006:xiv–xvi) and alternate ways of being in the world tied to notions of Black liberation (2006:17–18). The rural landscape at Antioch Colony was informed both by traditions developed during slavery and the experience of a new racial terrain where

emancipation did not, in fact, extend equal rights to African Americans. Rural African Americans responded to the changing racial climate by self-segregating into freedmen's communities. This self-segregation allowed residents to control their degree of contact with White Texans living in nearby Buda. The geography was racialized in an additional, more obvious, way: the community possessed one of the few schools for African Americans in the county. The mere presence of the school marked the community as a Black enclave, something apparent to both Blacks and Whites. In the next chapter I explore the migration of residents to cities and towns in Texas (Chapter Six). Using Austin as a case study, I explore how the geography of the Black neighborhood changed when situated in closer proximity to White neighborhoods (Chapter Seven).

Chapter 6: Demographics of Rural-to-Urban Migrants from Antioch Colony

Bessie Bunton and her children Ethel, Earl, and Lawrence were the earliest family to leave for the city, making their journey to Austin in 1900. It appears that their move was in part spurred by the successive deaths of Bessie's parents in 1892 and 1895 and the divorce from her husband. While her parents, Ransom and Jane Bunton, owned property in Antioch Colony, Bessie and her siblings could not maintain property ownership. Her brother William relocated to Houston, Texas, where he and his family rented a home. Her other brother, Joel, remained in Buda, renting a home near Antioch Colony. With three children and no significant other, Bessie relocated to the city where she could find relatively stable employment in the service sector. Bessie rented a home in east Austin where she lived with her boys Earl, age 9, and Lawrence, age 5. At that time, Bessie supported her household by working as a laundress while her daughter Ethel, age 12, was employed as a live-in servant for the Morgan household in west Austin.

The migration of the Buntons signaled the beginning of a change to the fabric of Antioch Colony. Beginning in 1910, more and more residents elected to move to urban centers in lieu of remaining in the colony (Table 6.1; Figure 6.1). While this trend never exceeded the population in Antioch Colony, an increasingly significant number of individuals sought salvation in the urban world. Migration from the countryside into urban cities perhaps most obviously fits into Tuan's (1977) definition of space and its relationship to movement, that is, the freedom to transcend one's present condition by moving through space to reach a place providing new opportunities. The move into cities

and towns offered emigrants the opportunity to move from primarily agricultural work to other forms of skilled and unskilled labor.

Year	Population in Antioch Colony	Population in Cities	Percentage in Cities
1910	152	16	11%
1920	78	34	44%
1930	100	49	49%

Table 6.1:Number and percentage of emigrants living in urban centers compared to population in Antioch Colony.

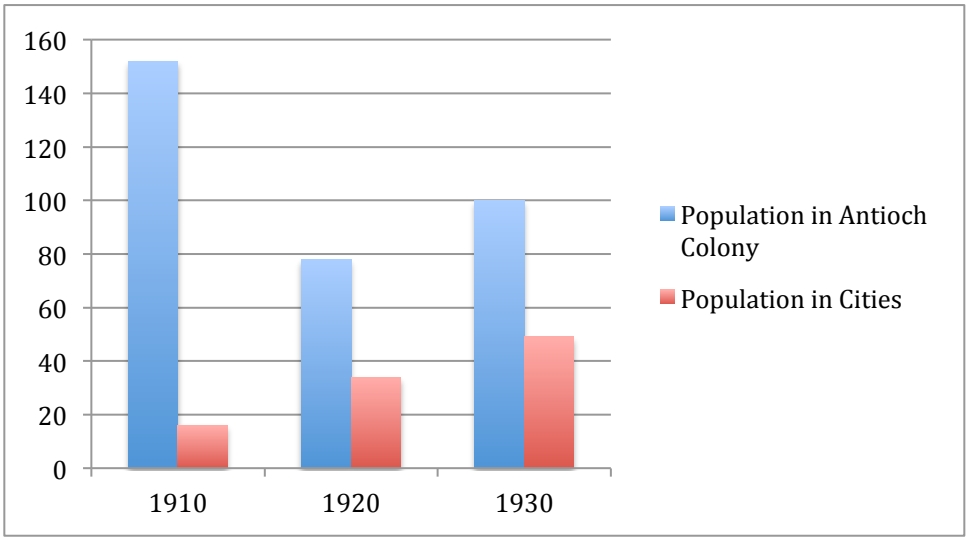


Figure 6.1: Number and percentage of emigrants living in urban centers compared to population in Antioch Colony

In 1910, a total of 16 individuals, comprising 11% of the population residing in the colony, moved into urban areas. In 1920, a total of 34 people (44% of the residential population in Antioch Colony) moved to cities. Coincidentally, this significant out-migration to cities coincides with the decreased migration into the colony during the same year, as discussed in Chapter Four. In 1930, a total of 49 people, or nearly half of the population of Antioch Colony, resided in urban centers. When counting the number

of new city residents between the years of 1910 and 1940, and not the total number of former colony residents during each decade, a total of 80 people moved to urban centers (Table 6.2).

Census Year	New Migrants
1910	16
1920	22
1930	29
1940	13
Total	80

Table 6.2: Number of migrants to urban centers by census year.

As Table 6.2 demonstrates, the number of migrants steadily increased, reaching its apex in 1930 before declining in 1940. This trend mimics national trends, particularly with regard to the Great Migration. The migration of Black Americans to the North intensified during World War I when Blacks could find employment in factory jobs or where Black men and their families resided after being drafted or discharged following military service. A number of camps and forts were established throughout the state, including Fort Worth, Houston, San Antonio, El Paso, and Waco (Wooster 2010). Additionally, Texas was home to several flight and service training centers in Fort Worth, San Antonio, Dallas, Houston, and Waco (Wooster 2010). The decline in European immigration due to the World War created a demand for cheap labor in U.S.-based factories (Jackson 1991:11). This demand for cheap labor opened up an opportunity for Black Southerners, and provided Northern factories with a new source of inexpensive

labor (Grossman 1989:13; Tolnay 2003:215). Texas likely experienced a similar demand for labor.

The Great Depression followed World War I. Initially, the Depression encouraged many from the country to move to urban areas in search of employment and aid (Greenberg 2009:21–24). As Cheryl Greenberg notes, the onset of the Great Depression, coupled with the spread of the boll weevil bug and its destruction of cotton crops, propelled some 100,000 Black agricultural workers to look for work in urban centers (2009:24). However, migrants found themselves passed over for even unskilled and undesirable employment opportunities, as these jobs were first offered to Whites who were equally desperate for work (Stewart 2007:47). Propelled by the scarcity of jobs available, there was a concerted effort to intimidate employers into hiring unemployed Whites before hiring African Americans, further impacting the ability for Black men and women to find jobs in the city (Greenberg 2009:25). Blacks previously employed in the blue-collar sector saw their jobs disappear (Coulter 2006:272). The Depression era effectively ended when the United States entered World War II. Like its predecessor and the Depression, the Second World War attracted migrants to the city, especially to areas in the western United States.

Generally, scholars of the Great Migration identify greater economic and social opportunities as important pull factors and the potential to flee racial violence and discrimination as important push factors encouraging rural African Americans to leave the South (Tolnay 2003:214–215). Scholars of the South have similarly found that Southerners moved to urban areas in search of more expansive job opportunities with

greater wages, educational opportunities, and social equality (Kyriakoudes 2003; Pruitt 2005:439).

Fleeing racial oppression, one of the common explanations for the mass exodus North (Berlin 2010:163–164; Grossman 1989:15–18; Tolnay and Beck 1991:29,32; Wilkerson 2010: 36–46), does not adequately explain why people chose to remain in the South. Racial tensions in Southern cities continuously flared, with numerous race riots, including those in the city of Houston, and Gregg and Longview counties, which occurred between the years of 1910 and 1920. The threat of lynching remained an ever-present threat. Between 1877 and 1950 a total of 376 African Americans were lynched in Texas, including the notorious Waco lynching of Jesse Washington in 1916 (Equal Justice Initiaitve 2015:16). Moreover, racial discrimination was a constant in the everyday life of the Black Texan. I do not want to underemphasize the very real threat of lynching and other forms of racial terror as catalysts for the migration north, however, I would be remiss if I did not point out that migrants remained under the threat of racial terror when they left for Southern cities and towns. Therefore, it is hard to measure the degree to which racial violence and discrimination figured into decisions to leave. Considering this, economic and social opportunities, narrowly defined here as access to better forms of education, jobs, and greater access to Black organizations, were likely major factors that influenced decisions to migrate.

Migration data for former Antioch Colony residents indicates two trends. The overwhelming majority remained in the state of Texas (Table 6.3). The second trend is that in the 30-year time period in question, the majority of migrants relocated to Austin,

just 15 miles north of Antioch Colony. A small minority established homes in Fort Worth (n=11) and Houston (n=12). A total of 17 households relocated elsewhere in Texas, but within 60 miles of Antioch Colony, including Georgetown (n=1), Kyle (n=1), San Angelo (n=2), and San Antonio (n=1). These trends indicate that at least during the first 30 years of the Great Migration, cities in Texas were a preferred destination among natives. The preference to remain in Texas among Black Texans is something Pruitt found to be true in her study of rural-to-urban migration in Houston (Pruitt 2013:30–31). Further, there is no indication that urban centers within the state served as a temporary stop in a quest for settling north or west. In fact, the majority of migrants (n=77) either stayed in Texas their whole life or returned to Texas after briefly residing in another Southern state, denoting a conscious decision to find opportunities for upward mobility in their home state. As Kyriakoudes (2003:107–108) and Pruitt (2013:30–31) also found in their studies of rural-urban migration within the South, former residents of Antioch Colony primarily engaged in short-distance migration patterns (Table 6.4).

Census Year	Austin	Dallas	Fort Worth	Houston	Other	Cities out of State	Total
1910	10	0	0	5	1	0	16
1920	25	1	3	3	2	0	34
1930	38	0	3	2	3	3	49
1940	34	0	5	2	8	0	49
Total	107	1	11	12	14	3	148

Table 6.3: Number of migrants from Antioch Colony in each city by census year. Note that these numbers count all migrants during each census year.

Cities in Texas offered numerous opportunities for Black migrants that were similar in kind to the opportunities offered out of state, making the move north less compelling for Black Texans. New migrants would have access to long established institutions, resources, and services that could aid in embedding them into the fabric of the Black community in their new home.

City or Town	Distance from Antioch Colony (Miles)	Total Number of Migrants
Kyle	9	1
Austin	15	107
Georgetown	43	1
San Antonio	66	1
Houston	174	12
Fort Worth	205	11
Dallas	211	1
San Angelo	218	2
Ada, Ok	365	3

Table 6.4: Distance from Antioch Colony to each city and town.

Another factor influencing the decision to stay in state may have been the sheer number of cities to choose from in Texas, all offering similar incentives. Moreover, these cities all had a sizable black population that continued to grow, no doubt due in part to migration into these areas (Table 6.5). Choosing to remain in the state made sense from an economic standpoint as well, as individuals and families saved money on travel expenses. Choosing to go north presented a financial burden for individuals and families who funded the trip themselves using their savings and the sale of their belongings to pay

for transportation costs (Marks 1991:47). A rail ticket for one individual costed that person almost a week's income (Marks 1991:47).

Texas Cities	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
Austin	5,822	7,478	6,921	9,868	14,861
Beaumont	2,958	NA	13,210	18,541	18,921
Dallas	9,035	18,024	24,023	38,742	58,971
Fort Worth	4,249	13,280	15,896	22,234	27,655
Houston	14,608	23,929	33,960	63,337	100,945
San Antonio	7,538	10,716	14,341	17,978	19,236
Waco	5,826	6,067	7,726	9,370	10,025

Table 6.5: Black population in Texas cities. Sources: Bureau of Census, 1900, *Twelfth Census of the United States,* 681-682; Bureau of Census, 1910, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910 Volume III,* 795-796; Bureau of Census, 1920, *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920 Volume III,* 988-989; Bureau of Census, 1930, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, Population, Volume II, Part 2,* 1079-1083; Bureau of the Census, 1940, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population, Volume II,* 1010-1017.

Demographics of Migrants Leaving Antioch Colony

The female to male ratio among new emigrants—that is, those who left Antioch—was relatively equal until the 1940 census year when women significantly outnumbered men, indicating that women were just as likely as men to migrate (Table 6.6). The sudden increase of women migrants in 1940 can be attributed to several factors. In 1930 and 1940, a significant number of women chose marriage partners who were not from Antioch Colony. This was in contrast with that of earlier migrants who were often composed of husband and wife from the colony. Additionally, many more single women moved to the city than in previous years. Finally, in earlier years migrants included adults

and their children. In later years, migrants tended to be married couples without children or married couples with no children born in the colony.

Common among migrants in general, new migrants to the city tended to be young adults under the age of 45. These individuals were in their prime working years, raising a family, or entering high school or college. New migrants over age 54 typically were either widowed or single in a household with children. Only one person, Bettie Beard, bucks this trend. At age 60, Bettie, listed as married on the census, resided in Austin with her 31-year-old son and his wife.

1910			
Age	Female	Male	Total
Under 5	0	0	0
5-14	0	1	1
15-24	2	3	5
25-34	1	1	2
35-44	4	3	7
45-54	0	0	0
55+	1	0	1
Total	8	8	16

Table 6.6: New migrants to the city by age and sex for each census year. Children under the age of ten who appear among new migrants are those whose location of birth, as indicated on their birth or death certificate, was listed as Buda.

1920

Age	Female	Male	Total
Under 5	0	1	1
5-14	2	1	3
15-24	3	4	7
25-34	3	4	7
35-44	1	1	2
45-54	1	0	1
55+	1	1	2
Total	11	12	23

1930

Age	Female	Male	Total
Under 5	0	1	1
5-14	3	1	4
15-24	2	4	6
25-34	5	6	11
35-44	5	3	8
45-54	0	0	0
55+	1	0	1
Total	16	15	31

1940

Age	Female	Male	Total
Under 5	0	0	0
5-14	1	0	1
15-24	2	0	2
25-34	3	2	5
35-44	3	0	3
45-54	2	0	2
55+	1	0	1
Total	12	2	14

Table 6.6 continued

When grouping the birth years of migrants by decade, the majority reached the ages of 20 through 30 during the First World War, a time marked by increased migration into urban areas (Table 6.7).

Birth Year (Decade)	Total	Percent
1850	2	2.50%
1860	6	7.50%
1870	7	8.75%
1880	8	10.00%
1890	25	31.25%
1900	20	25.00%
1910	6	7.50%
1920	6	7.50%
Total	80	100.00%

Table 6.7: Number of migrants by birth year.

Those born between the years of 1890 and 1909 constituted the majority (n=45) of total migrants. Many were the children of Antioch Colony settlers (n=28), which made them first-generation colony residents (Table 6.8). Second generation residents, the grandchildren of Antioch Colony settlers, comprised 36% (n=29) of the total migrants. The vast majority of first and second-generation residents (n=65) were descendants of landowners. Those occupying the category of early settler (n=4) moved into the colony in the 1900s and, therefore, were not a part of the founding families.

Generation Removed from Settler	Total	Percent
Settler	4	5%
First	28	35%
Second	29	36%
Third	19	24%
Total	80	100%

Table 6.8: Total number of migrants by generation.

The significant number of first and second-generation settlers descended from landowners signals an ideological shift in the understanding of landownership as a pathway to economic liberation. This shift in ideology is something that Antioch Colony migrants shared with their counterparts in the North. As James R. Grossman notes, and as is supported by a wealth of other scholarship on Black history, landownership, and its connection to agricultural labor, was understood to be the cornerstone of Black freedom in the Reconstruction and early Jim Crow periods (Grossman 1989:19–22; for discussions of the significance of landownership among rural Blacks in the South see Hahn 2003; Lee 2014; Litwack 1980; Schweninger 1990; Sitton and Conrad 2005). Through tilling land they owned outright, recently freed African Americans believed they could acquire economic independence from White rule (Berlin 2010:138). The hardships endured in waiting to inherit land, maintaining landownership even after inheriting it from a family member, or being left with a portion of land unsuitable to support a household, likely encouraged these descendants to look for other possibilities for economic advancement.

More expansive labor opportunities would have been a draw to the city, especially for men. Rural men, women, and children were largely relegated to farm labor. In some instances, women in the country were able to supplement agricultural labor by working as a laundress or seamstress. In contrast, the majority of Austin migrants were able to access other kinds of employment with the biggest difference in employment afforded to men and male children. Men could find work in construction, on the railroad, factories, lumber mills, the oil industry, or janitorial work. Additionally, both men and teenage boys could work as yardmen or porters for various businesses. For both women and teenage girls, employment remained limited to the service sector as maids, servants, laundresses, cooks, and seamstresses. However, women could access a wider clientele than what they could find in the country. As was the case for Black migrants throughout the United States, although migrants from Antioch Colony had wider access to jobs, most remained relegated to unskilled and low-skilled labor.

Intimate Movements

In 1910, Ernest, Jesse, and Mary Shoaf moved into Antioch Colony with their parents, Samuel David and Sarah, and their eight siblings. The family resided in the colony for a short time before moving to Old Lockhart Road in Austin by 1920. In the 1920s, Mary, 22, and her daughter Lucille, 7, moved to Ada, Oklahoma, with her brothers Ernest, 29, and Jesse, 27. In Oklahoma, the siblings created two separate households. Mary and her young daughter lived with Ernest, his wife and daughter. To support the household, Ernest worked as a garage porter while Mary was employed as a cook for a local family. Next door to them was their brother Jesse. His household was

comprised of his wife, son, and father-in-law. Jesse worked as a porter for a gas station while his father-in-law worked odd jobs. The Shoafs' residency in Oklahoma was relatively short as by 1935 both Ernest and Mary relocated their families to Fort Worth, Texas. There they joined their sister Daisy, a resident of Fort Worth since 1930, and brother Frank. Their material conditions changed little, as Ernest and his wife Esther were renting at a cost of $9.00 per month. Ernest was supporting his family of three as a laborer at the local cotton oil mill. In contrast, his sister Mary remarried and was living with her husband and their blended family of seven children. Additionally, they housed a lodger, perhaps to help pay the $16.00 in rent. Her husband, John, worked as a yardman and earned an income of $400.00. Her daughter was employed in the local school library for a wage of $24.00.

As exemplified by the Shoaf siblings, migrants had a number of strategies to make city life a viable option. Three of the siblings journeyed out of state together. When Ernest and Mary decided to move back to Texas, they joined their sister in Fort Worth. Moving to an area where a family member, often a sibling, already lived was one popular strategy. Fred and Myrtle Kavanaugh and their three children moved to Fort Worth, electing to rent a home on Prospect Avenue. Life was going well for the Kavanaughs, as by 1925 they were able to own a home on Lee Avenue valued at $600.00. By 1930, Fred's older sister, Bertha, and nephew joined them in Fort Worth. To cover the $10.00 rent, Bertha worked as a laundress and her 23-year-old son a porter for a local hotel. In 1940, Bertha, now married, and her family found themselves owning a home valued at

$600.00 next door to her younger brother Fred, whose home increased in value to $1,000.00.

A second strategy was to participate in "step migration." Commonly, rural areas in Texas served as temporary stops in the quest for a move to the city. Many from Antioch Colony elected to move to rural Travis County before establishing permanent residence in a city. William, Bettie, and their three daughters Neva, Willie, and Clemmie, moved from Antioch Colony to rural Travis County in 1900. There, William continued to work as a farm laborer while the family rented property. By 1907, William, Bettie, and their daughters made their way to Houston where they found housing in Houston's Fourth Ward. William worked as a contractor while the eldest daughter, Neva, was employed as a washwoman. Neva's employment as a laundress would have allowed her to rear her two-month-old child at home while working. Daughter Willie found employment as a maid while the youngest, Clemmie, worked as a nanny for a local family.

Claude and Ida Mae Bunton employed this strategy of step migration as well. Before permanently relocating to Austin, the Buntons briefly lived in Kyle, where Ida Mae gave birth to the couple's first daughter in 1921. They moved back to Buda where they welcomed another daughter, Lula Mae, in 1923. The Buntons moved to Sabine Street in Austin, an area now occupied by the University Medical Center, in 1927 before moving to San Antonio in 1928. The family returned to Austin in 1930, living in east Austin, where they remained.

CONCLUSION

On the whole, migrants from Antioch Colony stood in contrast to the profile of the migrant of the Great Migration and its pattern of Southern rural-urban migration. The standard narrative of the rural-urban migrant was that they were primarily sharecroppers seeking to avoid the exploitative crop-lien system that left them in a cycle of debt (Berlin 2010:157–158,161–162; Kyriakoudes 2003:47). Many migrants from Antioch Colony were not sharecroppers, were descendants of landowners, and were coming from a community that had somewhat less tenuous relationships with Whites due to the level of residential separation that the freedmen's community provided. However, like their counterparts in other Southern and Northern cities, emigrants from Antioch Colony were well versed in farming and grew wary of the prospects for supporting a household this way. As Grossman notes, the mass exodus into northern cities indicated a divorce from the ideology that Black liberation was tied to landownership (1989:19–22). The exodus of Blacks to the North signaled a new articulation of liberation centered on urban life and labor divorced from agricultural fields. While Grossman's comments were largely reserved for landless Blacks, it is not inconceivable that emigrants from Antioch Colony, which included descendants of landowning Blacks, also envisioned the city as a pathway to a better quality of life. Data from Antioch Colony strongly suggest that descendants of landowners were unable to attain economic independence through rural landownership. This point is most clearly exemplified by Bessie and her brothers William and Joel who, although they were the children of landowners, all left the colony to rent in places elsewhere.

Demographic data on colony residents who migrated to the cities reveals two patterns: 1) migrants preferred to stay in Texas, and 2) of these, the overwhelming majority elected to relocate to Austin. This is important for one major reason. It is widely accepted that during the Great Migration migrants left the South to pursue better economic and educational opportunities, and to escape Jim Crow racism (Berlin 2010:157–166; Tolnay 2003:214–215; Wilkerson 2010). However, the emphasis on streams of migration to the North obscures the fact that many found remaining in the South more attractive. The North was not the only region that rural Blacks perceived as a potential new place to pursue a better life. Moreover, Texas had additional advantages over many other Southern states in that it offered numerous cities for migrants to choose from and a strong industrial economy. As Pruitt notes, up until recently, many scholars of Black migration histories conflated the Great Migration with the totality of rural-urban migration patterns (Pruitt 2005:438). As this analysis demonstrates, residents of Antioch Colony participated in short-distance, rural-to-urban migration. This is significant as it emphasizes the fact that Black migration patterns were more heterogeneous than is commonly acknowledged. Again, these migrants were motivated by some of the same key factors (economic and educational opportunities) as those migrants who traveled North. Yet, why stay in the racist South? The answer is probably obvious: while Southern racism was deeply entrenched, most Blacks found the North and Midwest just as segregated and hostile to Blacks. Migrants may have stayed closer to home in order to keep relatively close to family. Many may have been loathe to leave the familiarity of Southern Black cultural and social life behind for the unknowns of Northern cities.

When they resettled in urban places, Antioch's emigrants attempted to reproduce their worldviews and practices of place making, homeplace, and engagement with community institutions, all cultivated during their residency in the colony. These practices constituted a sophisticated geographic literacy evidenced by Antioch's landscape and landmarks. Yet, as Antioch's emigrants made their way to urban spaces, they faced the challenges generated by anonymity, rigid racial segregation, and the heightened racial tensions that characterized Southern cities. Within these contexts, Black geographies came under fire. In the next chapter, I focus on Austin as a case study to explore the negative interpretations of Black geographies through the perspective of White Austinites. I argue that racist interpretations of Black institutions and landscapes adversely impacted emigrants' residential mobility within the city.

Chapter 7: City Geographies

Thus far I have focused on how educational and religious institutions influenced migration into Antioch Colony (Chapter Four) and how members of the religious and educational community deployed material culture to enculturate members into the doctrine of self help and reciprocal obligation (Chapter Five). The data I have presented up to this point have demonstrated the importance of education in shaping members to behave in a manner deemed beneficial to aid in the dismantling of structural inequality and anti-Black racism. In this chapter, I shift the scale of analysis to the city. As discussed in Chapter Six, a significant number of residents from Antioch Colony moved to cities beginning in 1910, with the majority electing to relocate to Austin. Shifting the analysis to Austin allows me to interpret Black geographies as understood by White residents of Austin. In this manner, the analysis that unfolds in this chapter demonstrates Katherine McKittrick's (2006) argument that dominant geographies are produced to naturalize intersecting modes of oppression and to reinforce White hegemony (see Chapter 1). Understanding White reactions to the productions of Black places highlights the struggle over geographic terrain that emigrants from Antioch Colony participated in when they relocated to the city. Unlike at Antioch Colony, where residential separation from White neighborhoods afforded residents a degree of autonomy and the cultivation of relatively amicable race relations, emigrants entered into an environment where race relations were hostile at least partly due to close residential proximity in more densely settled areas. Framing the analysis in this manner, I explore how transposing stereotypes of the Black body onto educational facilities effectively limited the residential choice of

African American migrants to the city. This analysis demonstrates how, despite using education as a means to cultivate spaces of self-sufficiency and moral righteousness, White people continued to interpret Black Americans, and the places they crafted, through the lens of anti-Black racism.

Emigrants reproduced spatial practices learned at Antioch Colony within their new homescapes. Despite heightened racial tensions, the spatial practices in the city were familiar, as processes of racial exclusion informed the cultural geographies of African Americans in both the country and the city. As a result, the centrality of Black institutions in shaping Austin's Black community and culture remained familiar to those enculturated at Antioch Colony. Notions of self help and mutual obligation continued to play an important role in the education of Black pupils, and the school and church remained lynchpins of the Black community in Austin.

The chapter begins with a discussion of how migration into Austin was influenced in part by more expansive educational opportunities. Next, I use historical newspaper articles from *The Austin Statesman* and *The Austin Statesman and Tribune* to demonstrate how African American schoolhouses, and the neighborhoods they were located in, were racialized and stereotyped as deplorable and inadequate by White residents of the city. Interestingly, Black schools were a point of contention among Whites, while Black churches received no such attention in the White-run media. These archival sources are demonstrative of three points. First, White Austinites linked African American schoolhouses to the increase of the Black population within certain segments of the city. Second, White residents viewed east Austin as the Black portion of the city, and actively

sought to deny Black citizens the right to establish homes in the west side of town. Third, the presence of Black schools, and by extension Black bodies, was thought to be the source of geographic destruction. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the settlement patterns of migrants in Austin to demonstrate how residential choice was limited to areas in proximity to Black schoolhouses.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL TERRAIN OF AUSTIN

Austin's current reputation as a liberal haven among a sea of conservatives belies the long and tumultuous history of African Americans in the city stretching back to the antebellum period. Like many other Southern cities, Austin was home to several plantations that would later give rise to free Black settlements after 1865. At the time of emancipation, these plantations already housed a sizable African American population which quickly founded eight urban and seven rural communities in and around the city (Mears 2009:27). These early communities demonstrate the agency and economic ability of freed men and women to construct neighborhoods as they wished. Each of these communities boasted their own educational facilities and oftentimes at least one place of worship (Figure 7.1).

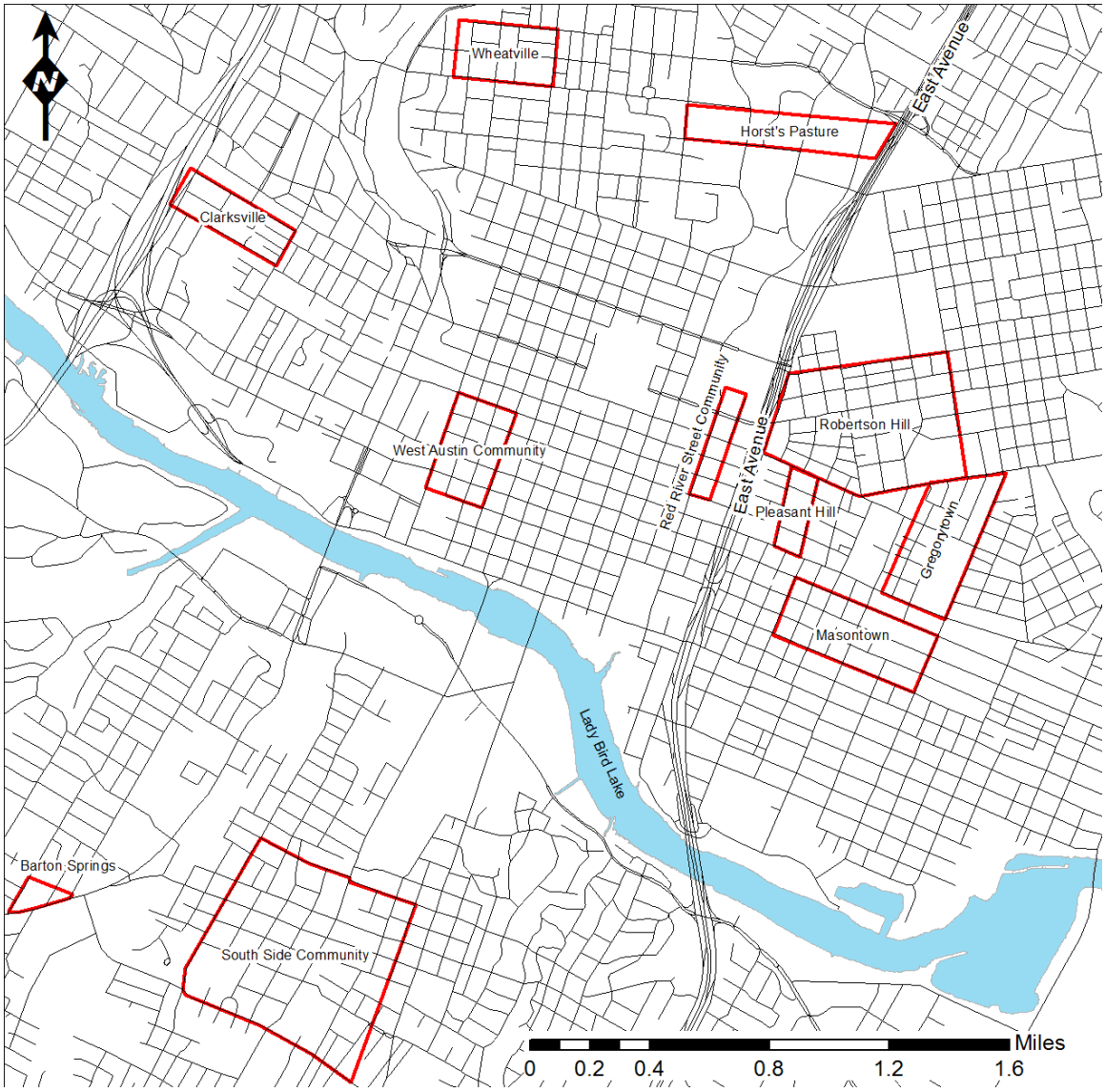


Figure 7.1: Freedmen's communities in Austin, Texas.

For children who later relocated as adults to Austin, perhaps their earliest exposure to the possibilities offered by city life was the regular shopping trips their families made to downtown Austin (Franklin 2012:2). Austin possessed an active Black business sector and businesses owned by whites who would gladly take an African

American dollar even if they were hostile to a Black presence in their store. Marian Missouri Washington recalls:

You remember the store, though. Scarborough's and what other store was that? They wasn't too far apart; one was on that side and one was on this side. Yaring's and Scarborough's. Montgomery Ward. No. It was called Scarborough's and Yaring's. There were two stores a long time ago. Now you want to go in and try on a hat, you'd have to put paper. They'd put paper, something on your head, to try that [hat] on. Because you know how we have our hair straight and the grease all in it, they didn't want to give you a chance to put that in that hat and somebody come along and wouldn't buy it. (Franklin 2012:360).

Not only was downtown Austin an important place for commerce, but it had an entertainment district lacking in the countryside. For rural Blacks, Austin was viewed as a place of rest, relief, escape, and adventure:

The main thing is my daddy would take us to town. Sixth Street was the main point. We went down on Sixth Street and you'd walk around and see things, shopping, get some hamburgers, go to a movie. At a certain time through his route, like hauling up rick wood and cream and milk to the customers, and butter, so while he was making those rounds, we were able to go to the movies down on Sixth Street, the Ritz Theatre, and they had a Harlem Theatre. We went to the movies, but at a certain time he'd be back, we had to be standing on that corner so we could catch that ride back home. We lived out in the country, and this was in Austin. So it was a nice social life. Minnie Mary Nelson (Franklin 2012:328).

Yes, African Americans from rural areas around Austin did congregate on Sixth Street, mostly on Saturday. There were a couple of movie theaters on Sixth Street, the Ritz and the Carves. We would sometimes go to the movies. There were also cafes on Sixth Street and we would congregate in the cafes. My grandmother, if she needed to do some shopping, she could, and most of the time after, we sat out there and she visited with other people who would come to town, and we waited until my grandfather got done unloading his wood and whatever else he was selling, and he picked us up. LeeDell Bunton, Sr. (Franklin 2012:73).

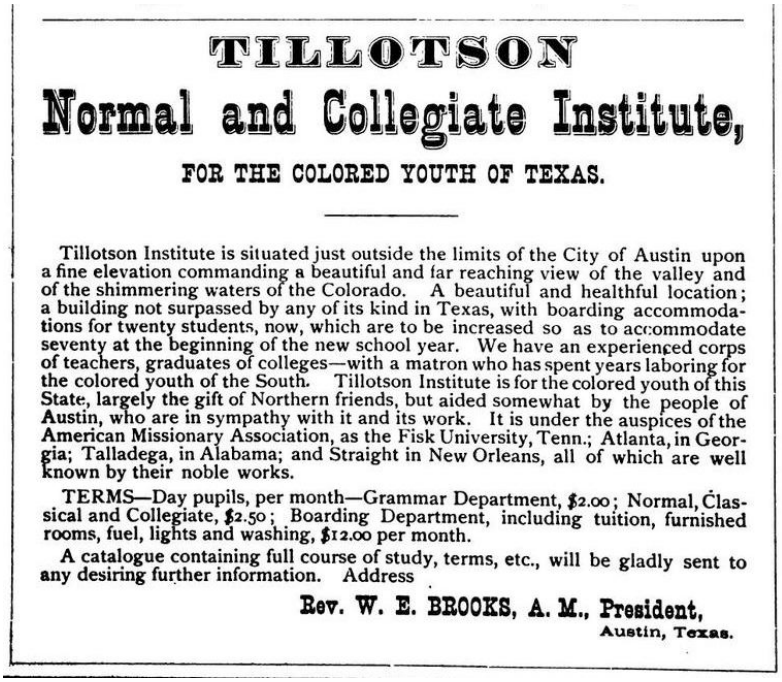
Sixth Street featured prominently in memories as a locale where Black Texans regularly congregated. Even more, there were particular locations regularly mentioned. Scarboroughs, Yarings, the Ritz Theater, the Harlem Theater, and the Carves were well

regarded as the places to go for shopping and entertainment in the city. Austin also offered farmers an opportunity to reach a wider consumer market, making the city a routine place to travel to for commerce.

Educational Opportunities Offered in Austin

Structural inequalities often compelled many families with children to move to Austin in search of more expansive educational opportunities. Unlike in Buda, at one time there were at least four different primary schools in Austin. While structural inequalities persisted in Austin, migrants were offered more choices in their pursuit of an education. In 1889, the city's only Black high school, Robertson Hill High School (eventually renamed Anderson High School), opened. As there was no Black high school in Buda, if Antioch Colony children wished to obtain a secondary education, then Austin was the closest option available. Moreover, by 1900 there were two separate institutions of higher learning offering secondary, collegiate, industrial, and biblical training.

On January 17, 1881, the Tillotson Collegiate and Normal Institute opened. According to an advertisement in the local directory the institute was "…situated just outside the limits of the City of Austin" and by the next school year included boarding for up to 70 students (Figure 7.2). The school was not free, and required pupils to pay $2.00 to $2.50 a month, or $12.00 a month if they required room and board (Morrison & Fourmy Directory Co. 1881-1882).



TILLOTSON

Normal and Collegiate Institute,

FOR THE COLORED YOUTH OF TEXAS.

Tillotson Institute is situated just outside the limits of the City of Austin upon a fine elevation commanding a beautiful and far reaching view of the valley and of the shimmering waters of the Colorado. A beautiful and healthful location; a building not surpassed by any of its kind in Texas, with boarding accommodations for twenty students, now, which are to be increased so as to accommodate seventy at the beginning of the new school year. We have an experienced corps of teachers, graduates of colleges—with a matron who has spent years laboring for the colored youth of the South. Tillotson Institute is for the colored youth of this State, largely the gift of Northern friends, but aided somewhat by the people of Austin, who are in sympathy with it and its work. It is under the auspices of the American Missionary Association, as the Fisk University, Tenn.; Atlanta, in Georgia; Talladega, in Alabama; and Straight in New Orleans, all of which are well known by their noble works.

TERMS—Day pupils, per month—Grammar Department, $2.00; Normal, Classical and Collegiate, $2.50; Boarding Department, including tuition, furnished rooms, fuel, lights and washing, $12.00 per month.

A catalogue containing full course of study, terms, etc., will be gladly sent to any desiring further information. Address

Rev. W. E. BROOKS, A. M., President,
Austin, Texas.

Figure 7.2: Tillotson Normal and Collegiate Institute advertisement from 1881-1882, Morrison & Fourmy Austin City Directory, Morrison & Fourmy Co. Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas.

The Tillotson Institute was later joined by Samuel Huston College in 1900. With the motto of "strive always to treat others better than they treat you," the college pledged to "…teach here the dignity of manual labor" (Figure 7.3). The explicit purpose of Samuel Huston College was clearly predicated on notions of self help and respectability politics popularized by Booker T. Washington (Washington 1899; Washington 1969). As I discussed in Chapter Two, these self help efforts were highly political, grounded in the belief that if Black Americans achieved gainful employment and became model citizens, racism and discrimination would be eliminated. These efforts were also painfully realistic attempts to work within the institutional system. Acknowledging that since the majority

of Black people were relegated to subservient and manual labor, the college's slogan indicates a view that the best chance for upward mobility would be to produce a highly skilled labor force that was well prepared for work in the service sector. An undercurrent of this mantra, as exemplified by the motto of Samuel Huston College, was the belief that Black Americans could not rely on white citizens to end discrimination and racial violence; it was up to the oppressed themselves to eradicate these moral ills.

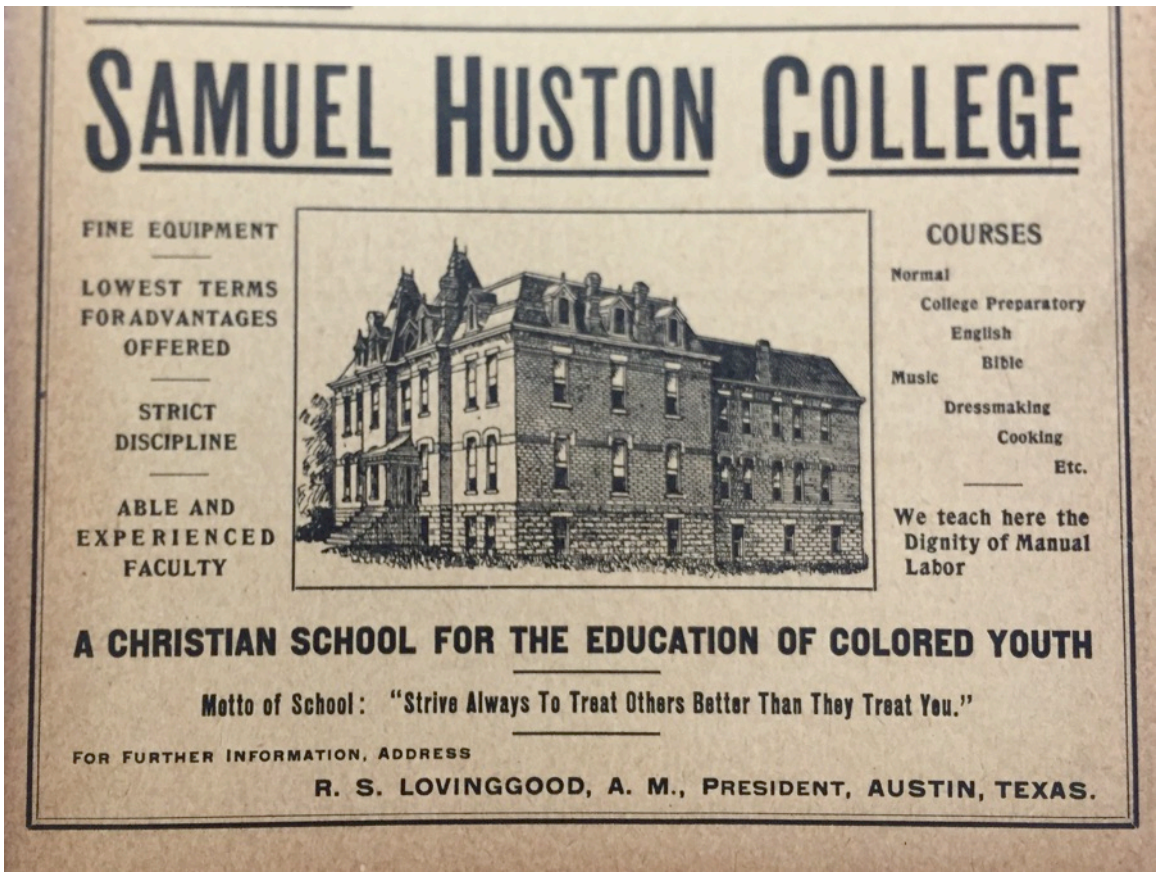


Figure 7.3: Samuel Huston College ad from 1903-1904. Morrison & Fourmy Austin City Directory, Morrison & Fourmy Co. Texas State Library and Archives Commission.

The 1940 census aided in demonstrating how limited educational choices may have propelled urban migration. This particular census asked household members the highest grade each individual completed. This information was then used to draw comparisons between migrants and their families and residents of Antioch Colony (Table 7.1). Out of 153 migrants and their families, 12 finished at least one year of college; 24 completed at least one year of high school; and 20 completed up to grades eight or nine. Out of 158 rural residents, 18 completed at least one year of high school and six finished up to grades eight or nine. None were college educated.

	At Least Grade Eight	At least One Year of High School	At least One year of College	Total	Total Population	Percent of Population with Higher Education
Migrants	20	24	12	56	153	37%
Rural Occupants	6	18	0	24	158	15%

Table 7.1: Comparison of educational achievement between migrants and residents of Antioch Colony in 1940.

The oral histories of former colony residents further demonstrate how movement to the city was spurred by educational aspirations:

…My sister and I were staying and going to high school at our sister's in Austin…She had a home over there and some children so we stayed over there, me and my sisters, and went to high school, Anderson High School. Minnie Mary Nelson (Franklin 2012:314).

Oh no. We couldn't even go to the white school. I'm telling you what kind of shape they put us in. And the school didn't go no higher than the eighth grade, so when you got to the ninth grade, you just had to drop out. They didn't care. Eighth-grade education, I guess they said, 'That's good enough to clean our houses, and mop our floors.' Because what could you do with an eighth grade [education], you know. So we had to go to Austin [for high school] and start the school over there. Yes, that's where I graduated. Joan Nell Limuel (Franklin 2012:431).

Additionally, two former residents recalled relocating to Austin to attend elementary school:

Yeah. I used to go to Blackshear before Kealing…It used to be called Blackshear, then it went from Blackshear to—no, it used to be called Gregorytown. And it went from Gregorytown to Blackshear, in the names. Well I went to there when we moved to Austin. Gregorytown, me and my sister that's next to me. She went to different classes than I did, when we was going to Gregorytown. And I went to—she didn't go to Kealing. I went to Kealing. She was gone at that time. She had went to Dallas or somewhere. She went to Dallas and lived with her uncle until she got her a job and started working and got her own apartment. Marian Missouri Washington (Franklin 2012:348).

Showing a picture to interviewer: *That's all three of us. That's an old picture. This is my sisters when they were in Blackshear Elementary*. Joan Nell Limuel (Franklin 2012:423).

Racialization of Space

Much like Black Texans, White Austinites recognized the power of institutions for community growth and sustainability. To stymie the growth of area Black communities, White residents regularly protested the presence and construction of schoolhouses for Black children. Educational facilities for Black children quickly transformed into a battleground over the rights to occupy space.

Despite the initial location of Robertson Hill High School in an area with at least four surrounding Black communities, White residents continually complained about the effects of the high school on their quality of life. In 1902, White Austinites implored the school board to build the Black high school in Gregorytown. Their argument rested on the notion that the school should be in the center of the Black community and not in an area populated by Whites as well as Blacks ("Gregorytown Gets the New Colored High School" 1902). Despite efforts to relocate the school, further complaints culminated into a meeting between a committee of concerned white citizens and the school board on September 14, 1905. These citizens requested that the board find a more suitable location for the high school, arguing that "…on many occasions the police station had to be called on for protection" ("Removal of Robertson Hill School a Problem" 1905). Why exactly the police had to be called was not described in detail. Others argued that because many White families lived in the neighborhood of the high school the school board should find a different location for it within a Black neighborhood ("Removal of Robertson Hill School a Problem" 1905). It appears that the continual Black presence was a threat and therefore served as reasonable justification for the removal of the school from the area. The board was unable to find a suitable location at that time, as White residents also protested three other potential locations. These complaints had varying levels of success, as between the years of 1900 and 1920 the high school moved three times (Figure 7.4).

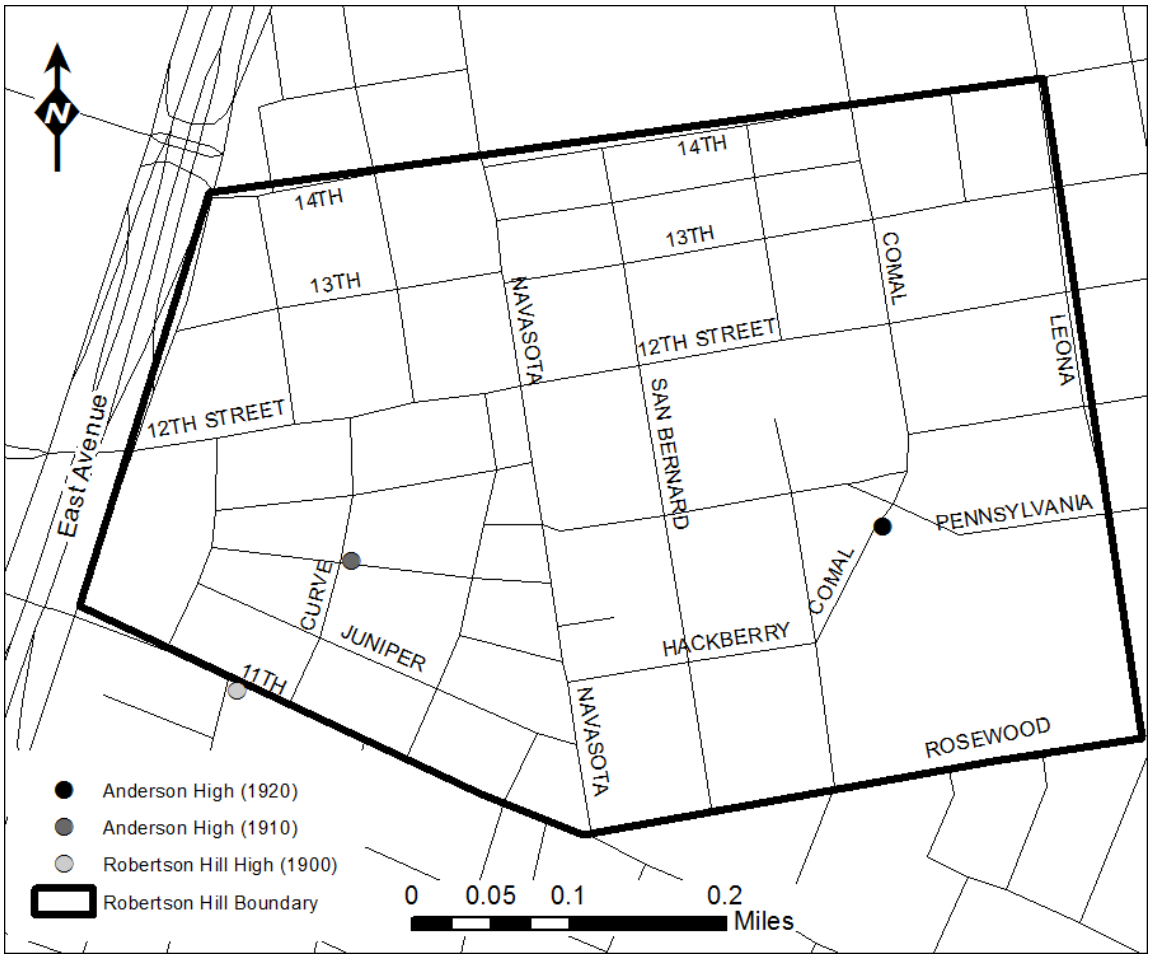


Figure 7.4: Changing locations of Robertson Hill/Anderson High School between the years of 1900 and 1920.

By 1915, many White residents gave up on east Austin, believing that the area was overrun by African Americans. White residents of west Austin were determined to not let the same thing happen to their neighborhoods and fiercely protested the potential construction of a new public school for Black children in their areas. Ironically, this school was to be built in Clarksville, a neighborhood founded by emancipated African

Americans. In August of 1915, Black members of the Clarksville community formally requested that a public elementary school be built in the community. To demonstrate the need for such an institution, the group let it be known that over 200 children lived in west Austin, that the area had 109 property owners and 33 renters, and that the community itself had existed for 40 years ("Negroes Request Clarksville School" 1915). White residents, in turn, held protests and mass meetings to alert the school board of their displeasure in having such an institution in the area. One resident argued:

> ***This negro school means the ruin of part of West Austin.*** *The white people already have given up* ***the prettiest section of the city, East Austin,*** *and what happened to East Austin after negro schools were located there will now happen to West Austin* ("West Austin Objects to a Negro School" 1915; emphasis mine).

City commissioner Harry L. Haynes echoed these sentiments stating:

> *Forty years ago I invested all I had in East Austin, the most beautiful part of the city…****and as a result of the location of negro schools there I was frozen out and my former home is occupied by negroes****. I have invested the remnant of what I had in West Austin. What happened to East Austin will happen to West Austin once the negroes get a foothold here. There are today six big schools for negroes in East Austin.* ***The white people have been driven out…this is one of the prettiest sections of the city. Why should we give it to the negroes*** ("Mass Meeting of West Austin Folk Oppose New School" 1915; emphasis mine).

C.P. Ledbeter, another resident of west Austin, reiterated "this school will get rid of negroes in other sections…" ("Mass Meeting of West Austin Folk Oppose New School" 1915). Further comments from residents included "…East Austin had been possessed by the negroes, driving out the old white population" and "it's not the presence of the school but of the negro himself that is objectionable" ("Says People Will Not Approve the New Negro School" 1915). Arguments centered on the belief that because White families

would be disproportionally affected their interests should be put ahead of Black families. "About 60 negro families are concerned in the building of the school while a much larger number of whites will be effected" ("Says People Will Not Approve the New Negro School" 1915). Cries to maintain residential segregation in the city were overtly racist, as residents claimed that if a school were to be built in the area then it should be burned down, that some would be afraid to leave their family during the day if the school were to be built, and that the influx of African Americans would bring down property values in the area ("Mass Meeting of West Austin Folk Oppose New School" 1915).

Black families often had to navigate through a terrain where their very presence was perceived as hostile to White hegemony. As demonstrated through the various comments from White residents, place was a concept embedded with notions of race and class. Black people, and therefore Black geographies, were intrinsically linked to notions of violence and deplorable living conditions. Therefore, as perceived by Whites, schools for Black children were emblematic in the process of transforming livable space into an inhospitable wasteland and needed to be stopped at all costs. It is clear that by 1915, east Austin was already considered the African American section of the city. To stop the spread of African Americans to other parts of the city, White citizens attempted to use school construction as a means for population control. Therefore, the mechanisms to confine African Americans to east Austin were already in place long before they were solidified through bureaucratic means.

In 1928, city planners concocted a plan to limit residential mobility among Black Austinites by keeping the city's African American population permanently relegated to

the east side of town. This plan, established to circumvent unconstitutional segregation practices, deliberately relocated all services for Black Austinites to a newly established "Negro district" in the area east of East Avenue (present-day I-35; Koch and Fowler 1928:57; Figure 7.5). Civil engineers wanted to take advantage of the fact that this part of the city was already predominantly Black and would not require a large amount of new infrastructure, particularly with regard to schools and housing. This plan was a city-sanctioned policy designed to limit Black citizens' ability to choose where they wanted to live. By extension, in circumscribing where they could reside, whites also managed to set boundaries around the spaces through which Blacks could move. In the next section, I demonstrate how Black residential patterns shifted over time as a result of city planning. I focus on the households composed of Antioch migrants who chose to relocate to Austin, but their residential patterns over time represent those of Black Austinites in general.

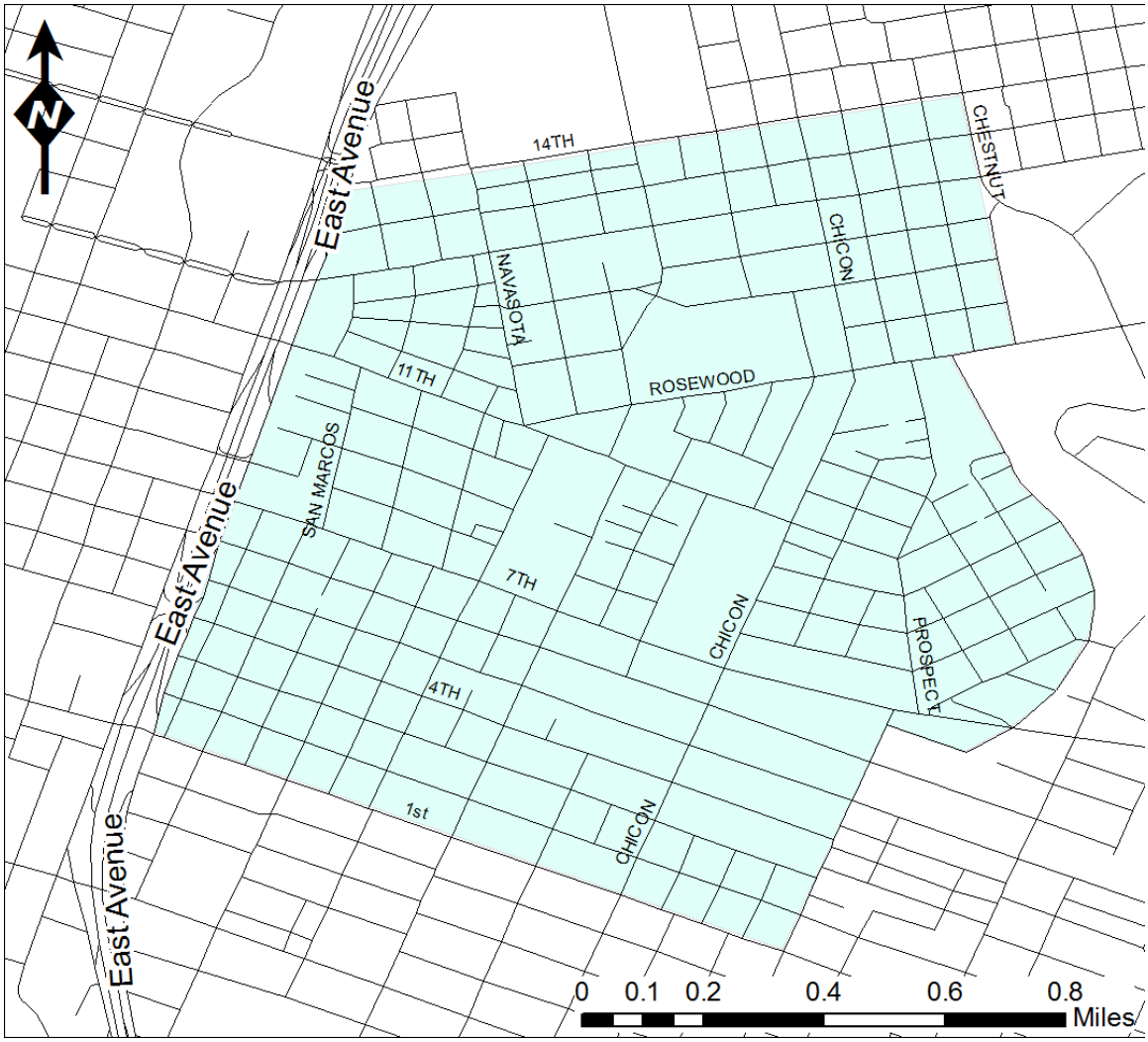


Figure 7.5: "Negro District" as outlined by Koch and Fowler.

Residential Settlement Patterns, 1910-1940

I analyzed the residential mobility patterns of emigrants in Austin between the years of 1910 and 1940. The spatial patterns of residents demonstrate how city planning practices designed to impose racial segregation successfully impacted the residential choice of migrants from Antioch Colony, increasingly relegating emigrants into east Austin.

The success of the city's segregationist master plan to remove Black residents from mixed race and majority White areas to east Austin, the "Negro District," is evident in the data on where Antioch emigrants eventually settled. The residential patterns for these emigrants from 1910 to 1940 reveal that they were initially dispersed across the city, and within two decades were forced to reside in east Austin. I relied on census data to map this trend. East Avenue, now the I-35 corridor, served as the western boundary of east Austin, just as it does today.

In 1910, former Antioch residents were living on both sides of East Avenue. There were three households living east of East Avenue (in east Austin), and three other households residing west of it (in the area referred to as west Austin; Figure 7.6). Two of the households located in east Austin were within neighborhoods that would later serve as the core of the east Austin district. One home was located within Gregorytown, a freedmen's community established in 1894 (Mears 2009:53). Gregorytown Elementary School and Tillotson Collegiate and Normal Institute were also located within this community. The second home was within the Robertson Hill neighborhood, a community established in 1869 that also had its own primary school.

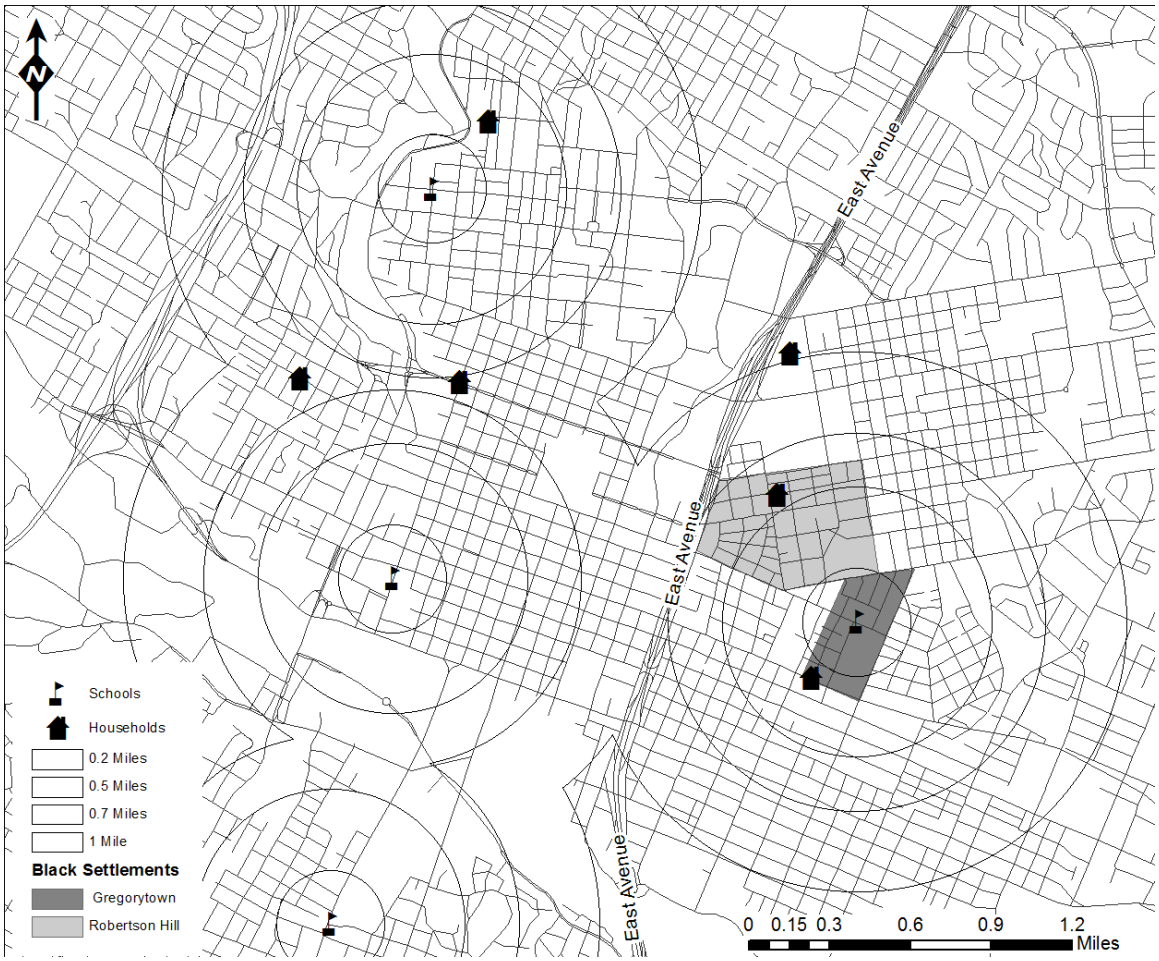


Figure 7.6: Locations of homes in Austin in 1910.

Residential settlement patterns for Antioch emigrants were relatively unchanged in 1920. The number of households in east and west Austin remained roughly equal during this census year. Five homes were located east of East Avenue, one home was on East Avenue, and four were located in west Austin (Figure 7.7).

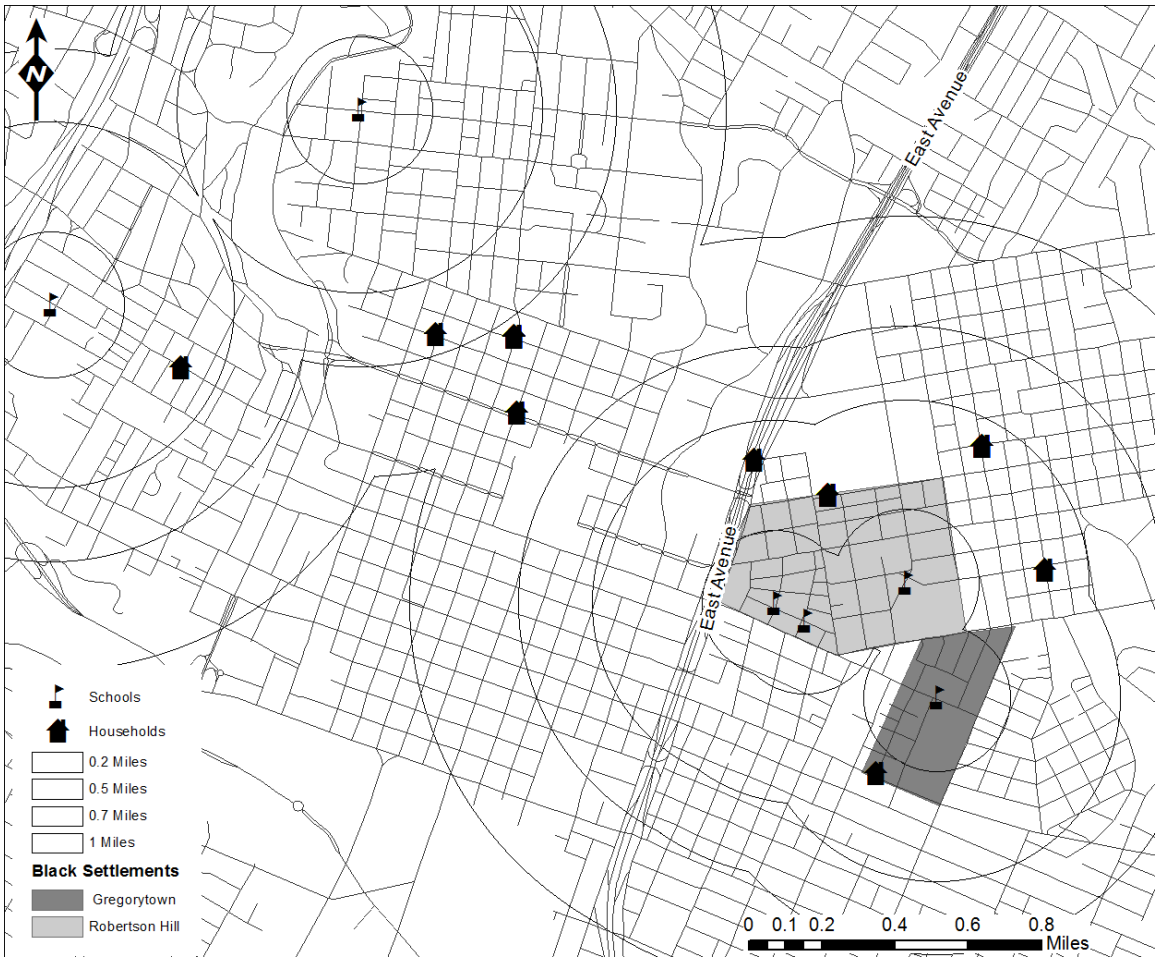


Figure 7.7: Locations of homes in Austin during the 1920 census year.

In 1930 and 1940, there was a marked difference in settlement patterns from the earlier ones demonstrating that former Antioch families were increasingly relocating to east Austin. In 1930, of the 26 emigrant households, most (n=16) were located in east Austin, seven in west Austin, and three were located in south Austin (Figure 7.8). Nine of the 16 residences established by emigrants east of East Avenue were within the so-called Negro District, the area formally known as east Austin. In 1940, this pattern largely

remained the same. The majority of emigrant households (n=16) resided in east Austin, in contrast to four emigrant households which chose to reside in west Austin (Figure 7.9).

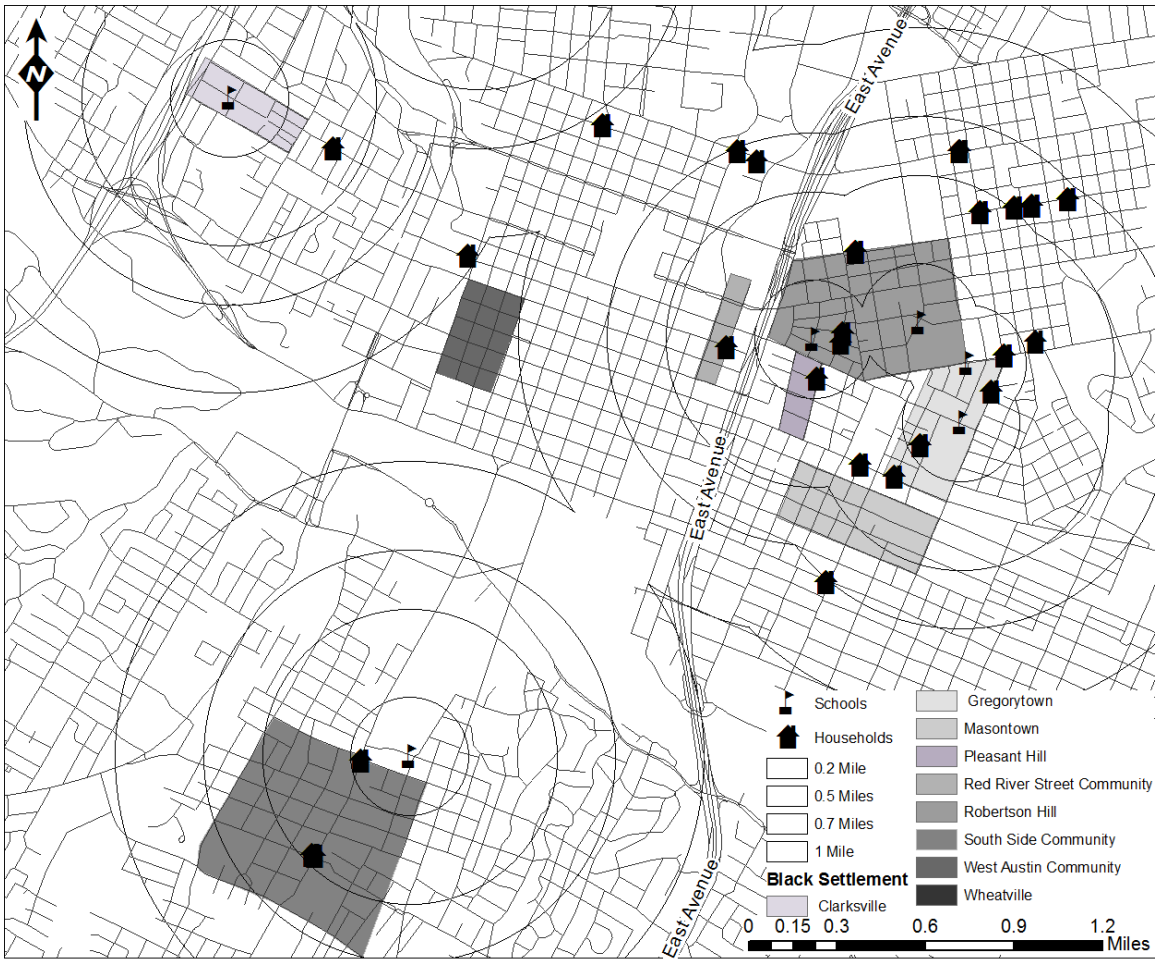


Figure 7.8: Location of homes in Austin during 1930 census year.

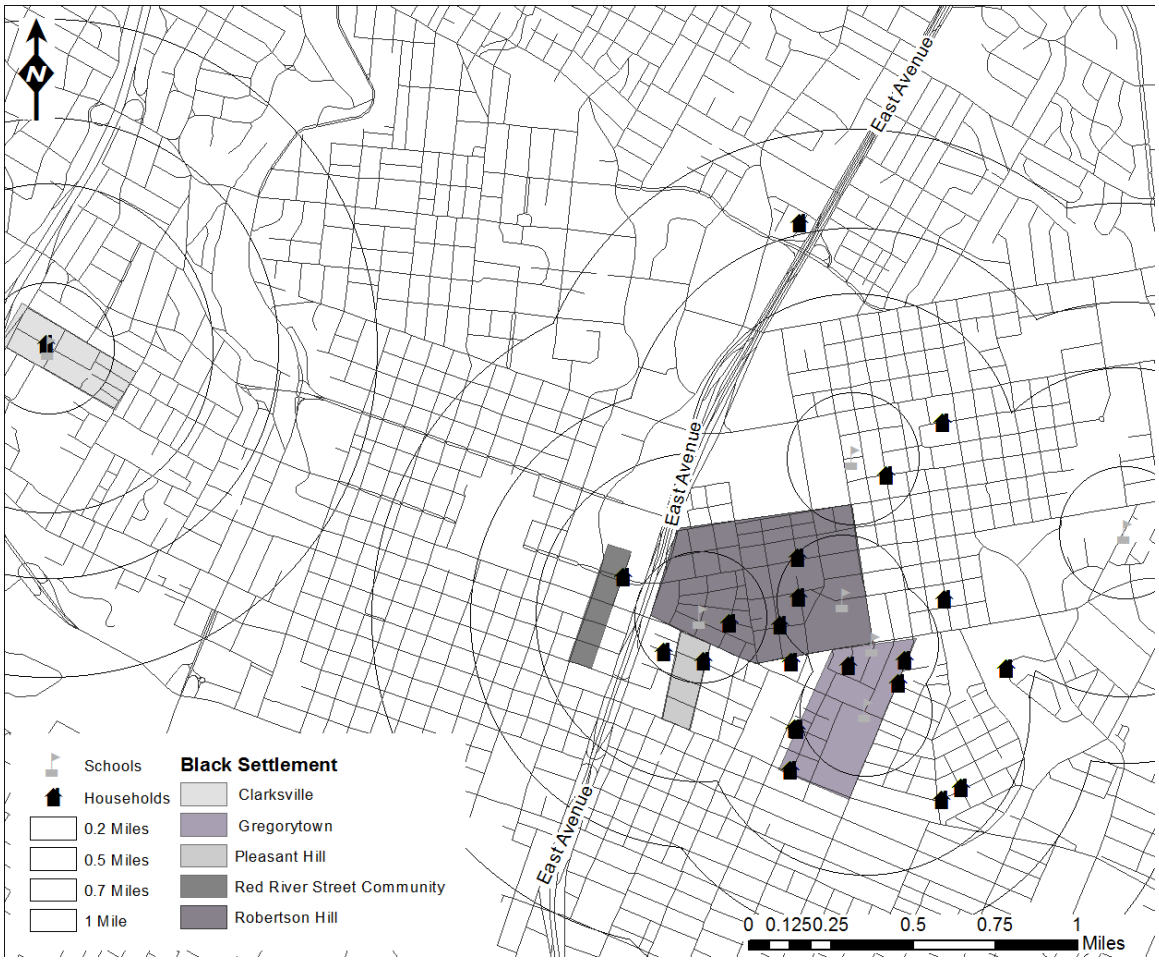


Figure 7.9: Location of homes in Austin during the 1940 census year.

The data on settlement patterns for migrants who moved from Antioch Colony to Austin is representative of the increasingly limited residential choices that Black Austinites, in general, had between the years of 1910 and 1940. Figure 7.10 is illustrative of the fact that within two decades, Black families were pushed from west of East Avenue into east Austin by 1930.

As city planning efforts achieved success in delineating where Blacks could reside in Austin, Black Austinites in turn established neighborhoods at a rate unlike anything observed in the 1910 and 1920 census years. During 1930, Antioch emigrant households were residing in these neighborhoods, which included Gregorytown (n=2), Robertson Hill (n=3), South Side Community (n=3) in south Austin, the Red River Street community (n=1), and Pleasant Hill (n=1). This trend continued in 1940 with four emigrant households in Gregorytown, four in Robertson Hill, one in Pleasant Hill, and one family in the Clarksville neighborhood in west Austin. This increase in Black neighborhoods was the result of intensified housing discrimination practices deployed to limit Black homeownership and rental choices to specific neighborhoods within the city.

Figure 7.10: Mean center of residential households between the years of 1910 and 1940.

In 1935, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC), an agency established by the United States government shortly after the Great Depression, appraised neighborhoods in Austin to determine the level of risk involved in loaning money to homeowners. Much has been written about the HOLC (e.g. Crossney and Bartelt 2005; Greer 2012; Hillier 2003; Hillier 2005; Woods II 2012), so it will be sufficient here to state that neighborhoods were divided into four categories: best, still desirable, definitely declining, and hazardous. The HOLC's evaluation of these categories heavily relied upon

the racial and ethnic makeup and class status of all of the inhabitants in each neighborhood (Woods II 2012:1039). Each neighborhood assessed by the HOLC was then mapped and color-coded based on the category it fell into, with "hazardous" neighborhoods coded in red. These maps were widely distributed to government and private agencies charged with monitoring, regulating, and distributing bank loans or those responsible for locating and providing access to housing for potential homeowners (Woods II 2012:1038). This appraisal system negatively impacted Black homeowners' ability to obtain home financing and re-financing at competitive rates no matter where in the city they resided. Additionally, the appraisal system limited the ability of Black families to move into residential neighborhoods in "best" or "desirable" areas no matter their socioeconomic status.

The majority of Antioch emigrants living in Austin between 1930 and 1940 resided in homes located within districts labeled hazardous (Figure 7.11). Moreover, all of the Black schools were also located in areas labeled as hazardous, further demonstrating how geography was racialized by conceptualizing Black places as inherently dangerous and uninhabitable. In limiting the residential choices of Black families to areas in east and south Austin, planners ensured that Black schools in west Austin would close. These measures were successful, as by 1940 only one Black educational facility, the more recently built Clarksville school, remained open in west Austin.

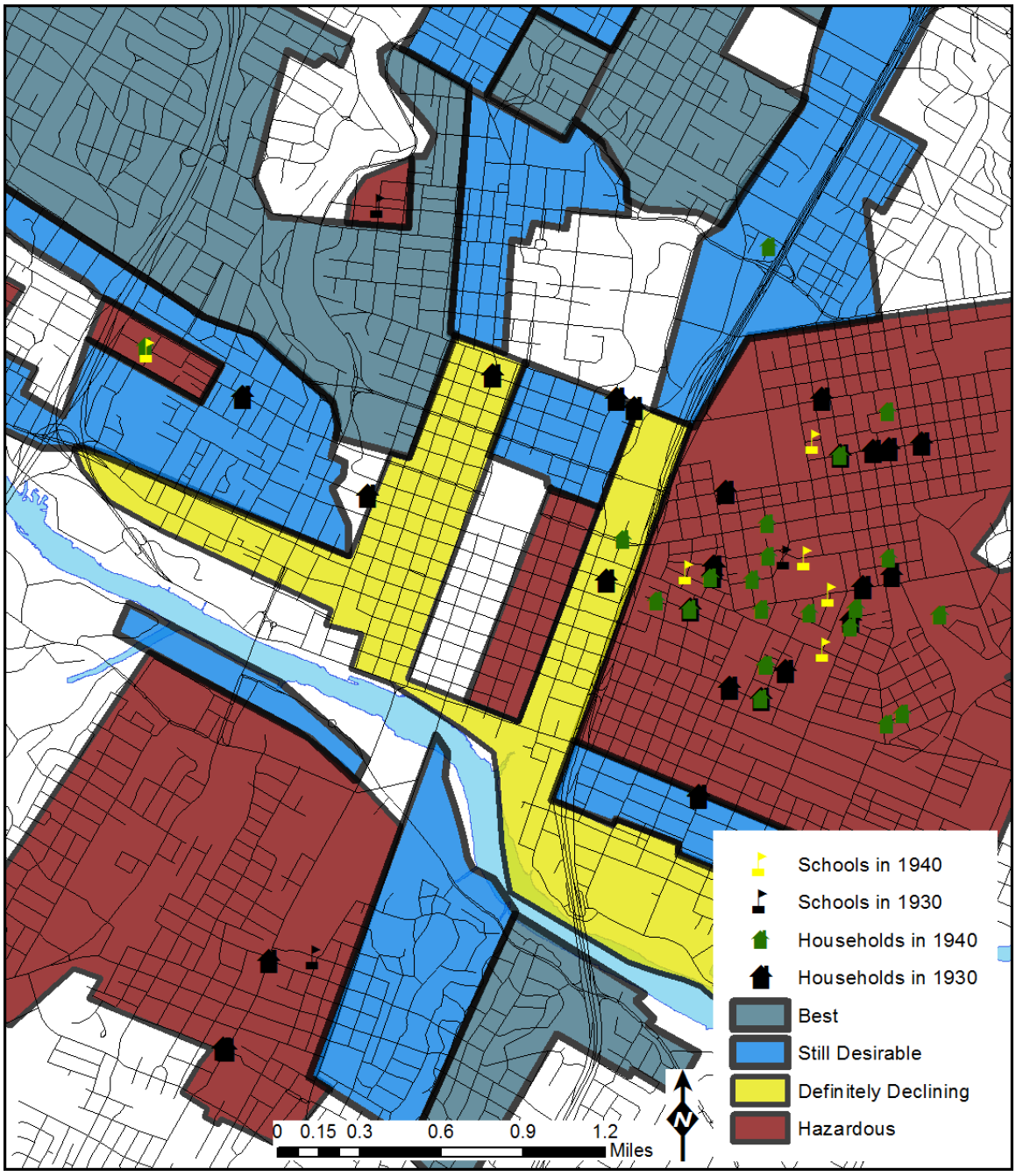


Figure 7.11: The 1935 Home Owner's Loan Corporation Map of Austin with locations of Antioch emigrant households and area schools represented. National Archives, Record Group 145, Austin Texas Folder.

CONCLUSION

Spatial data culled from city directories, newspapers, census, and historical maps illustrate how African American schools became emblematic in geographic practices used by both Blacks and Whites to connect Black families to place. As argued by Katherine McKittrick (2006), dominant geographies serve to reproduce and naturalize systemic oppressions. Thus, Black people often conceive of alternative ways of living in places produced by racial exclusion (McKittrick 2006). These alternative practices often contrasted with, and challenged, White geographies. This is clearly evident when one considers the competing perspectives of African American schools between Black and White Austinites. As discussed in Chapters Two and Five, for Black Texans, schools were conceived of as markers of freedom that provided children and adults the opportunity to gain economic and social independence. White residents recognized the importance of Black schools as landmarks that encouraged Black people to settle in certain neighborhoods over others without schools. White citizens then used this knowledge as a powerful tool to confine Black families to prescribed areas of the city. In this chapter I referred to various articles from local newspapers to demonstrate how racial stereotypes of Black Texans were projected onto educational spaces for Black children. Viewed by Whites as dangerous, hazardous, and a threat to their property values, the result was to try and confine Black people and Black institutions to east Austin.

White residents actively consulted with city school board officials to implore the local government to help keep Black families from moving into "their" (meaning predominantly White) areas. For White residents, the key was to restrict where Black

schools were located. These efforts appear to have been successful, as by 1928 the city government contracted with a civil engineering firm to permanently relocate and confine the majority of infrastructure for Blacks to east Austin. The effects of this planning strategy were evident in the residential settlement patterns of Antioch emigrants as they increasingly moved mainly to Black neighborhoods in Austin, especially east Austin, within a rapid twenty-year timespan. Importantly, the process to limit Black residential mobility was bolstered in 1935 with the HOLC's evaluation of neighborhoods based on their racial and economic makeup, the results of which were outlined in its redline map. In the end, Black families faced higher mortgage loan rates and it became more difficult for them to purchase homes outside of Black areas of the city.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

In this dissertation I mainly relied upon the theories posited by Tuan (1977) and McKittrick (2006) to analyze the spaces produced and used by African Americans in central Texas, demonstrating the relational role of place and movement in shaping community (Adey 2006). Through an analysis of how residents moved between home and communal centers, I argued that the school and church served multiple, interlocking roles within the community. First, these institutions served as landmarks (Tuan 1977), notifying outsiders, both Black and White, that an African American community existed in the area. Considering that Black children and adults were all but barred from attending White schools during the Reconstruction era, and later were denied attendance at White schools due to Jim Crow segregation, a Black school was a coveted resource for Black families. Second, as places informed by the legacy of slavery and continued subjugation following emancipation (McKittrick 2006), the colony's school and church served as symbols of freedom and perseverance. Third, these places were continually impacted by modes of racialized oppression (McKittrick 2006), requiring Blacks to pool their resources to fund their schoolhouse and to use their church and school communities to extend aid to members in need. Fourth, these spaces served to indoctrinate members into notions of self help and reciprocal obligation. By engaging in these practices, members of the community demonstrated local participation in national civil rights movements and debates on the best pathway to achieve equal rights.

As previous archaeological research demonstrated, pathways were more than a functional means to get from "here" to "there." Often, pathways are reflective of a complex series of social relations and cultural notions of appropriate spatial use (Byrne 2003; Erickson 2009; Gibson 2007; Robin 2002; Sheets 2009). At Antioch Colony, I found that the construction of pathways were embedded in notions of what it meant to be a free Black citizen in the rural South. Informed by practices of self help and reciprocal obligation, pathways were another means for landowners to demonstrate their commitment and goodwill towards their community. Moreover, by allowing members of community institutions to freely transcend through space (Tuan 1977), Black landowners reaffirmed notions of what it meant to be free for all formerly enslaved African Americans and their descendants.

The actions that occurred at the Antioch School reflected the freedom to enact behaviors collectively believed to serve the betterment of the wider community. While the material assemblage recovered through excavation was relatively small, the artifacts suggested the ways in which African Americans enacted and enculturated others in self help practices believed to aid in achieving equal rights and to combat anti-Black racism. The domestic items and desk fragments indicated that members of Antioch Colony were engaged with national Black socio-political movements of the time. Driven by the lack of resources extended to African American schools (Anderson 1988; Du Bois and Dill 1911; Span 2009) and the belief that industrial education would lead to financial independence (Washington 1899; Washington 1903), these socio-political movements were believed to provide the best means to realize full citizenship rights. For women, as indicated by the

documentary record and the artifacts, industrial education meant indoctrination into matters of domesticity at a young age (Franklin 2012; Franklin 2015). In this manner, the spatial practices enacted at the Antioch School exemplified alternate Black geographies produced within a framework of racial oppression (McKittrick 2006). These alternate geographies reflected Black humanity and the rejection of anti-Black stereotypes and racism by cultivating a homeplace (hooks 1990), in this case the school, that asserted a sense of cultural pride and agency.

In addition to archaeology, my work engaged with the scholarship on movement and place from within the disciplines of history and geography. By closely attending to the relational role of mobility and place in community formation, I built on the scholarship of African American history that examines how movement was integral in extending social networks (Buchanan 2004) and defining the boundaries of community (Kaye 2007; Penningroth 2003). Through situating my analysis on the mobility of rural African Americans, I built on the works of historians and geographers who demonstrate how movement was always an integral part of life in the countryside (Otterstrom and Bunker 2013; Peil and Bonow 2014; Vassberg 1996). These studies complicate popular notions of the rural, framed as the antithesis of the urban, as stable and unchanging. In tracking the mobility of emigrants from Antioch Colony as they moved to the city, my work aligned with historiographies that seek to demonstrate that the mass movement of rural African Americans into urban cities was not unique to the North (Adams 2006; Adams 2010; Kyriakoudes 1998; Kyriakoudes 2003a; Kyriakoudes 2003b; Pruitt 2005; Pruitt 2013). A significant number of Southerners sought refuge in short-distance

migrations into Southern cities (Kyriakoudes 1998:107–108; Pruitt 2013:30–31). Migrants from Antioch Colony were no different, as all 80 migrants remained in the state for the majority of their lives. Moreover, most migrants elected to move just 15 miles north to Austin.

By tracking migration into Austin, I was further able to employ Mckittrick's (2006) theoretical concepts by examining how close proximity to White residents resulted in changing engagement with Black geographies. While in the countryside self-segregation was a matter of choice, in urban areas self-segregation increasingly became a result of anti-Black spatial practices designed to limit the residential mobility of the Black population. While former residents of Antioch Colony carried with them the geographical practices learned within their former community, they later had to confront a terrain where Black schools were largely understood by Whites as a threat to public safety and security. Due to the relatively large number of African American schools in east Austin, that section of the city came to be regarded as the Black section of town. Black emigrants were marginalized and relegated to this section of the city, as local and federal governmental agencies worked to contain and ostracize Austin's Black population.

In implementing a multidisciplinary study informed by archaeological, geographical, and historical methods, I was able to employ a multiscalar analysis that interrogated how rural African Americans both produced place and moved through space, further demonstrating how these concepts interrelate with one another. While the school and the church worked to provide its members with a sense of direction and stability

(Tuan 1977), movement was an equally important aspect of rural Black life. The places—homes, cemetery, church, school, springs, etc.— dotted along the Antioch Colony landscape served as sites of interaction, providing people with the freedom to move through space and engage with their neighbors as well as other cultural environments. The freedom of movement nurtured at Antioch Colony continued to inform geographical practices of community members as they began to move to urban areas. Ultimately, by analyzing archaeological, historical, and spatial data, my study demonstrated how Blacks constructed alternate geographies informed by their social positioning within society (McKittrick 2006).

Appendix: Primary Sources

Census Records

Decennial census records collected through Ancestry served as the core of all archival research that followed. Manuscript census data was collected for the years of 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1940. The 1890 census were destroyed in the 1921 fire of the United States Commerce Department Building (Blake 1996). Manuscript census data is invaluable because it contains information about each individual within the household including occupation, homeownership status, age, and literacy status. Using the residential information provided by Terri Myers, I located available census data for each individual who lived within the colony at any point between the years of 1870 and 1930. Additionally I recorded information on all members of a household. This information was transcribed according to census year onto a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet created for this research. Information pertaining to literacy, occupation, salary, age, marital status, where recorded when available. Where available residential information was recorded—street address, city, and state. If an address was not available then the precinct number and county name was recorded.

Vital Records

Beginning in 1903 deaths in Texas was recorded at the state level. Remarkably death records for residents of Antioch Colony are widely available on Ancestry up until the early 1980s. These records proved to be extremely useful as they often provided the names of parents, mother's maiden name, address of the person at death, occupation, and location of burial. In some instances death certificates also provided the names of spouses or other relatives of the deceased.

Birth records were located and recorded for a small number of residents. Like with death records, birth records were recorded at the state level in Texas beginning in 1903. Birth certificates are not available online to the degree that death certificates are provided. Where available this source provided the birth location of an individual person and the names and residence of both parents.

Burial Information

Findagrave.com (Find a Grave) was used to locate burial information for residents and their descendants. Find a Grave is a website that relies on its contributors to list and update information on burials within cemeteries across the United States. Although information provided on the site is crowdsourced, I have found the information reliable. The listings for Antioch Colony Cemetery in Buda and Evergreen and Plummers Cemetery in Austin was comprehensive in nature and used to locate the final resting places of residents who lived in Buda or Austin. In addition Ancestry compiles information provided through Find a Grave so that the user can search for burial information using the Ancestry interface. Therefore those not buried in the aforementioned cemeteries could be located through Ancestry provided that Find a Grave had a listing for the individual on their website.

World War I and World War II Draft Registrations

A number of men from Antioch Colony registered for the World War I or World War II draft. Information from these registration forms provided residential address, occupation, date of birth, and age. In many instances the name and address of a family

member was provided; oftentimes a parent or spouse. Because these registrations occurred in 1917, 1918 and 1942, they were useful in mapping changes in residential settlement between census years.

City Directories

A second aim for the dissertation is to track migration patterns of former residents from Antioch Colony. To this end city directories found online on Ancestry and at the University of North Texas Libraries' The Portal to Texas History website (http://texashistory.unt.edu/) were obtained. City directories available at the Texas State Library and Archives Commission were also consulted. Below are the directories are available for the following cities, followed by publication title and the years consulted in parenthesis:

- Austin
    - Morrison & Fourmy General Directory of the City of Austin (1881, 1900, 1902, 1912)
    - Polk's Morrison & Fourmy Austin City Directory (1918, 1920, 1922, 1930, 1940)

Newspapers

A search through archives of the Austin American Statesman was conducted to better understand how local Black people, communities, and institutions were portrayed in white-owned media publications. The ProQuest Historical Newspapers database covers The Austin American, The Austin Daily Statesman, Austin Daily Statesman, The Austin Statesman, The Austin Statesman and Tribune, Daily Democratic Statesman, The

Democratic Statesman, Evening Statesman, and The Statesman. Search terms included the following: Robertson Hill, Robinson Hill, Gregory Town, Masontown, West Side Community, Red River Street, Red River Street Community, Clarksville, Horst's Pasture, Antioch Colony, freedmen, freedmen's colony, negro school, negro high school, negro primary school, colored high school, colored school, Anderson School, Anderson High School, Samuel Huston, Tillotson Institute, negro church, negro, colored, and negro woman.

Additionally the ProQuest Historical Newspapers database was consulted to find any mentions of the death of Lawrence Cecil Bunton. Due to the unusual circumstances surrounding his death, I believed that at the very least a passing mention about this event would be reported in the archives of the Austin American Statesman. The search terms Lawrence Bunton, Lawrence Cecil Bunton, Ida Mae Bunton, Claude Bunton were used. One article, reporting on an award for information leading to an arrest, was located.

Aerial Photography

A 1937 aerial photograph was located for Antioch Colony. This photograph represented the colony before the relocation of the church and school sometime in the 1950s. From this photograph I identified a number of features on the landscape—homes and associated buildings, roads, footpaths, creeks. Additionally features recorded using GPS during surveys of the colony were imported to ArcMap and analyzed in conjunction with features mapped from the photograph.

Additional historical aerials of the area were obtained from the United States Geological Survey (USGS) to understand changing landscape patterns. These aerials,

referred to by the USGS as Aerial Photography Single Frame, were collected for the following dates:

- 1 March 1954
- 4 May 1958
- 11 March 1967

Historical Maps

Historical city maps were obtained from three sources: The University of Texas at Austin's Perry-Castañeda Library (PCL) Map Collection (http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/history_texas.html), the Portal to Texas History website, and the Austin History Center in Austin, Texas. Maps obtained for the following cities include:

- Austin History Center
  - 1925 Plat map
- The Portal to Texas History
  - Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps for Fort Worth
- PCL
  - Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps for the following cities in Texas: Austin, Dallas, Fort Worth, San Marcos, Tyler
  - 1935 Home Owners' Loan Corporation Redlining Map for Austin, Texas
  - 1958 topographic map for Buda, Texas

School Records

At the Texas State Library & Archives commission I was able to locate County Superintendent Annual Report records for Black schools in Hays County, which included the Antioch Colony School. I was able to locate and obtain copies of records for the following years: 1896-1900; 1903-1905; and 1907-1908. I transcribed information from these records onto an Excel spreadsheet for reference and clarity.

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